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A NEW ROME

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A NEW ROME

A STUDY OF VISIBLE UNITY AMONG NON-PAPAL CHRISTIANS

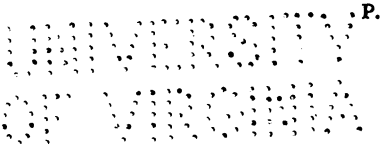
BY

RICHARD DE BARY

AUTHOR OF "FRANCISCAN DAYS OF VIGIL," ETC.

"In tertio tempore Spiritus Sanctus exhibebit se ut flammam et fornacem divini amoris et ut tripudium spiritualium jubilationum, per quam non solum simplici intelligentiâ, sed etiam palpativâ experientiâ, videbitur omnis veritas Sapientiæ Verbi Incarnati et potentiæ Dei Patris."

P. J. OLIVA



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PREFACE.

THE practical races of all ages have ever thought out their best thoughts by aid of their institutions. The Pagan Romans who first gathered on the *Mons Palatinus* learned how to think of a civil World Order by organizing themselves as a city which developed its institutions till it could lodge the World Order within itself as a common centre. The Christian Romans, whose head-quarters are now the *Mons Vaticanus*, were just as practical-minded as their Pagan forebears had been, and learned, in the course of time, the secret of how to lodge the Christian *Orbis* within the Papal *Urbs Romana*. In Innocent the Great's day, when Unity was for a short while actually achieved, the Roman bishopric contained the only "Union Church" where the territorial Churches, North, South, East, and West, could meet together and combine on an equal footing as on an extra-territorial site.

In the present writer's view, the course of events has led the existing Roman Church into subtle home developments that make the appeal of the

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Papacy, as custodian of the grace of the Atonement, untranslatable to half the human race. This, in a summary sense, is the reason why the writer first came to believe that there must in consequence be a supplementary Mission of the Spirit without the Roman fold.

The direct object of my book is not, however, to outline any scheme of the wider polity of Church Unity. It is rather to show what the exigencies of personal faith force an individual to assume. For this reason, my book has been written in the form of a personal record in which the various problems are treated as they arise. The maxim "*Lex orandi, lex credendi*" holds good. Devotion teaches how to believe. If the Church is the great assembly of the Atonement, everlasting and ever-expanding, the devotion of Churchmen must have its vistas through times and places. If personal faith is well-advised enough, its presentiments may be oracular; but to be oracular is the last thing in the world that the present writer claims for himself. I write to promote the ideal of devotional unification, and let any forecast of Church Unity come to the front which shall prove helpful and conducive to fellowship.

ST. GILES, DORSET.

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CHAPTER I.

FOREBODINGS.

A NEW ROME AND CANADA (28 July, 1900).

MONTREAL, the scene of a notable Eucharistic Conference, has been called the Rome of the New World, and has even been designed by the imaginative as the future abode of the Papal curia. At least Montreal is one of the greatest Catholic capitals. While travelling thither on board the "Tunisian" from Liverpool, I had been invited to stay over Sunday at the clergy-house attached to the French Canadian Church of the *Sacré Cœur*. The large staff of clergy lived here almost like religious, under the direction of their zealous *curé*. Their manner recalled the simplicity and courtesy of the clergy of the best French type. Only one or two of their number could speak English.

In the parish were 15,000 people, all Catholics. The church is a stately Gothic edifice, entirely built of wood, recalling the reputed forest original of Gothic style. The exquisite carving and tracing of its lady chapel is one of the wonders of Canada. The Faith had plainly lived on undiminished here since its first planting under the *ancien régime* of France.

I said Mass in the church on Sunday, 28 July. At this, or the next Mass, a congregation of about 3000

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children attended. All were brightly dressed and models of reverent behaviour. Masses ran on during the morning, and probably every man, woman, and child, physically able to attend, came in for one or other Mass.

In a single morning I had learned a lasting lesson that there is no inherent discord between the new Democracy of America and the ancient Catholic Faith. Few such model parishes exist in any Christian Communions in the Old World as this first parish I was favoured to see in the New World. It was an honour to have been a guest amid such a goodly company, whose faith and piety bore witness to the length and breadth and stability of the Catholic city of the saints. With these first favourable impressions I proceeded to my destination, which was in the American State of Indiana, travelling thither via Toronto and Buffalo.

I need but allude to the difficulties over my clerical subscription that I was at this moment experiencing, and which I have explained in full elsewhere. Every one knows that such difficulties when encountered in the Roman Communion must necessarily end in perfect inner and outer agreement with Rome or with a complete severance from Roman authority. Granted that inner and outer agreement are impossible, Catholics may deplore the fact, but are glad that an inevitable act of severance should be as complete and definite as possible. Yet whoever is afflicted with serious difficulties of conscience over so grave a spiritual affair as severance from a church, ought to weigh the consequences and analyse every possible chance of keeping up his subscription, having regard to the rules of fundamental honesty. I left the Roman obedience

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nine months after reaching America. But, if I felt obliged to break with the Roman construction of what is obedience to the true Church, there was destined to remain in my mind a conviction that Rome occupied a central position as an embodiment of Divine religion, and as a model of organization to the rest of the Christian world. The more I felt I was drifting from a strictly legal and authoritative Rome, the more I felt drawn to the ideal of a new and free Rome, to a city-centred organization of all the Christian Communions in which all were in inter-communion, but in which each possessed the rights of self-government touching their home affairs. The Imperial Church of Rome, I believed, had been nursed in the cradle of the autocratic empire of ancient Rome. Why should not some new and free Rome, that the Holy Ghost would give, be nursed in the cradle of the free institutions of the American democracy?

I thought that Rome was as the Judah among the Christian Communions, that it was the one "legally right" and "legitimate" Church in a strictly Judaic sense of the words. But the Dayspring had not constrained all the early converts to bow to the Jewish law. The Holy Ghost had rested upon Judea in order to spread salvation to the Gentiles. Rome might have within itself the secret of the reconciliation of the Churches. God had not required that all the world should bow to Rome. The Holy Ghost would bring His treasures of the grace of healing from its Roman shrine and spread the same without payment of submission to Rome, as He had once given His grace, *gratia gratis data*, to the Gentiles.

The New Rome of which I dreamed, therefore, with

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signs like the fervent faith of the French of Montreal to guide me, was not any mere extension of Rome in America. It was rather the gathering of all the Christian Communions, by the Holy Ghost, into a vast and free inter-relationship and inter-communion, with the free institutions of America as its harbinger, with Old Rome and its model of the city idea of a Church as its guide.

The Age of the Holy Ghost.

Indiana is a flat world, rich in woodlands and orchards, and divided up by drowsy shaded creeks. Franklin, in Johnson County, about twenty miles below Indianapolis, was the seat of the mission-house of which I came to take charge for the English Capuchin missioners. The town is nestled in the green of sycamores. The mission-house was north-west, and looked like an enlarged wooden doll-house. It was sheathed with leafy shelter, and, to the side, had a prospect of apple-trees and vines laden with fruit.

At first there was time for reflection, but few chances for an intelligent study of American life. The belief that the New Democracy should cradle the New Rome of order and harmony within the Christian Communions of the Reform was predominant in my mind. To anyone with Protestant training the right to reject Catholic traditions is taken for granted. But I revered tradition, and was obliged, therefore, to look for the key to a Home Reunion of the Reformed Communions in some free adaptation of the Catholic plan of effecting inter-relations through a common capital. Catholics, at least, admit it had been right to discard the Jewish Ceremonial Law by the Council of Jeru-

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salem during the Christian era. But Catholics only admit a possible supersession of the Papacy, "by the Day of Judgment".

Church students, however, know of a theory that persisted in the Middle Ages of a "Third Age". Joachim of Flora, Peter J. Oliva, and the Spiritual Franciscans, believed that in some forthcoming Third Age, the authority of the Holy Ghost would supersede the authority of the Roman Pontiffs. An orthodox version of this Third Age is presented in the writings of Blessed Grignon de Montfort, with which I had long been familiar. Briefly, the view was that an Age of the Holy Ghost would come to pass and proceed conjointly with Papal authority.

My views were shaped chiefly by this prophetic theory which I expanded to suit the present occasion. I contemplated a Papacy persisting, as the phrase went, "till the Day of Judgment". I believed that, parallel with the Papal cure of souls, the Holy Ghost would send forth a heavenly mission from within the Roman Sanctuary, with the true light of the Faith, with priestly power to consecrate, and with spiritual authority to administer amid all the Christian Communions without the Roman fold.

Rome might temporarily disown this mission. It would only claim to run parallel with that of Rome. The Mission of the Holy Ghost would seek to consolidate all Christians without the Roman fold. When success had been achieved, and the new and free Rome firmly built up, the old Rome would be forced by the evidences of the Divine Spirit to acknowledge the rights of the new Rome to remain self-governing and free. Finally, some concordat of friendly alliance and

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inter-communion might be concluded between the sovereign authorities of the old and new Romes. The excuse for such fanciful mystical thoughts could in any case only last so long as opportunities for studying the actual religious environment of religious America were not within my reach. The town of Franklin and its vicinity had at least a few important lessons to communicate, which I did my best to learn.

The People of Franklin.

The townsfolk of Franklin, the scene of the mission, were mostly the old-fashioned true Americans, descendents from migrants who had come in from the seaboard, sixty or seventy years previously. Their ease and composure marked them off from the smart dark hustling citizens of cosmopolitan origin of Indianapolis. Led by a giant "long-beard," a taciturn tailor, they strolled in easy gait twice a day to watch their "pigeon-holes" for letters, or to "jolly" arriving or departing guests as the bell-ringing engine brought the train from the outer world through the urban highways. The democratic sense of fraternity showed itself by the light of the Alladin electric lamps among the trees in the corridor street scenes at night. All the world was now out of doors and was as a single happy family. They swung in hammocks or rocking chairs. They called across and conversed over their fresh green plots from house to house. The bright lights among the trees marked the whole scene in the deepest of chiaroscuros. The shady spots were filled with fire-flies that flashed like moving coast lights, and sparkled brilliantly enough to suggest miniature electric lights. Democratic America is not readily found until

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you leave the bizarre thoroughfares of the dominant plutocracy and visit the townlets, villages, or farmsteads where the old republican feeling still retains its vigour.

The old stock here were all Evangelical Protestants. The Catholics were mostly farmers of recent German and Irish origin who came in on Sundays from the surrounding country districts. It was impossible to discover that note of insularity among American Evangelicals which repute has attributed to English Free Churchmen. Every one had long since outgrown the Protestant sectarian consciousness. America was a religion as well as a country to these people. History, as many read it, is indeed a tangled fallacy. If certain reputedly impartial accounts of the Reformation were true, Modern England would be but a heap of cinders, and no new and powerful Protestant cosmos would have held sway in America.

My Protestant acquaintances were mostly Baptists, the leading Communion in anti-priestly religion in America. But they were friendly enough to myself and to a young convert who introduced me at their college. I believed that God in His wisdom, held some great destiny in store for American Protestants. Out of their democratic unity, would He not construct a higher, deeper, spiritual union? Could He not direct the flow of the Divine energy of grace from the Roman treasury and weld all these Protestants into one great Communion, making good all their defects of creed or organization, and establishing them in an *Urbs Beata* of the future, a Church welded as a city, but outside of Rome, and bound together in Christ's grace and in visible unity as completely as the old Roman city-centred Church?

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CATHOLIC ACQUAINTANCES.

There were three Capuchin missioners whose headquarters were temporarily at Franklin. They were engaged in giving courses of missions in a tour from coast to coast of the American continent. They were rarely at home, and I undertook the pastoral cure of the Catholics of Franklin. There was a little chapel in the house. In the church was held but one service a week, the 11 o'clock Sunday Mass. The tropical sun of Indiana was unendurable till about 5 p.m. to the unacclimatized. Fortunately, there were shady avenues all the way to the church. The nearest farmer was an Irish-American who lived nearly two miles away. On Sundays the farmers drove in from all the neighbourhood in "buggies".

In the town area there were about two German-American families and two Irish-American flagmen whose task it was to signal trains at the level-crossings. The homely German Catholics came from Cincinnati. They could tell a stranger little about American affairs, but praised Cincinnati for its beer gardens, its churches and its Sunday papers. The housekeeping was managed by various members of these two families. They "canned" the fruit, made choice syrup or jelly of grapes and cherries. Their greatest delicacy, requiring the help of several hands, was a well-spiced German "apple-butter". With the party, too, was the fervent young American convert, mentioned above, who was always willing to say the diurnal hours of the Breviary Office with me. He made his way subsequently to a seminary to study for the priesthood.

I called at Indianapolis on one occasion, and had

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the honour of conversing with several of the diocesan officials. They had heard with surprise the reports about the Mivart incident, and seemed to think that the learned biologist must have been quite out of his mind to have questioned Roman philosophy and ecclesiastical authority. I had never before met with instances of such perfect assurance of the truth of everything Roman. Yet these same individuals were, in an unconscious sense, out-and-out Americanists. They thought that American Catholicism was developing its own characteristic mind and method touching the Church. They held it un-American to support the late Father Hecker's "Americanism" or any other "ism". What they meant by an "American method," I gathered, was a characteristic way of thinking about and of managing Church affairs, due to the influence of American conditions on the minds of practical men whose orthodoxy was, and would remain, unimpeachable.

American Catholics cling to the Papacy as a kind of seal of their ecclesiastical "nobility" in the Church of the Ages. They are not intellectually "modernists," but "modernists" in an unconscious manner, due to their temperament. They are all the more likely to condemn explicit "modernism" and all its ways.

On the whole, I was favourably impressed with the evidences of faith and zeal and liberality among American Catholics. Any alteration of my clerical subscription on some question of principle would not lessen this good impression.

GOD'S NEW PARABLE OF SION.

The loyalty of American Catholics to the distant Vatican has its lessons of peculiar value to American

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Protestants. Evangelical Christians in America are more likely to apply these lessons in a re-construction of their own organization than to wish to become themselves spiritual subjects of the Vatican. Unfortunately, most controversialists are more ready to debate about Papal claims than to study in a scientific spirit the working constitution of the Roman Catholic Church. Roman organization counts vastly more in practice than Roman polemics. People overlook Rome's businesslike manner of effecting the inter-communication of the sections of its allegiance, and its collective status. They study chiefly its administrative autocracy. The historic Churches of Greece, Armenia, and England, are confessedly sectional, and do not act together through any capital organization above their racial limits.

Considered merely as an organization, Rome, being a spiritual sovereignty lodged in a capital, is far more like Washington D.C. than it is like any Christian Communion without its fold. An Iowa priest on the "Tunisian," who compared the Vatican with the Supreme Court at Washington, would have looked in vain for any such apt illustration in any other collective ecclesiastical organizations. If a Catholic ever confronts the Communions outside Rome, this absence of their collective status stares him in the face. The English Protestant might cry out that any centre of Church communications spelt tyranny. An American Protestant, with democratic Washington before him, knows that capital organizations have no inherent association with tyranny. Federal institutions are supposed rather to protect the freedom of every citizen than to assail it.

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Now Imperial Rome was at least a superb parable of Ecclesiastical Rome. The Roman Church, following upon the Empire's footsteps, became an *Urbs* and *Orbis* as organic as Trajan's Roman Empire. It is not against pious usage to apply parables from secularity to the affairs of the kingdom of heaven. To a Catholic, then, like myself, who believed in a forthcoming Age of the Holy Ghost—in the first place—Christian bodies at conflict with one another spelt mere vacuity. In the second place, if any vision of a new crystallization of the Christian Communions of the Reform came into view, it was practically inevitable that organic Democracy should replace Imperial Rome as the parable that God had set wherewith to reveal the manner in which He would rebuild the Sion of the "United Communions" of reformed Christianity.

I need not compare a Roman Imperial Province with an American State like Indiana. America was plainly an ordered assembly of freemen and not an imperial annexation of conquered folk. But these free institutions of America, it seemed to me, were only possible because they were founded upon some law of the Divine Immutability. They were, therefore, an appropriate parable of the order of the reconstruction of Christian union. The Divine Wisdom, I believed, would draw upon its own eternal archetypes of human civil freedom in designing its plan for the gathering of the Christian Communions within a Sion of brotherly union. I admit that this ruled out the equal ideals of the Roman Empire and the Roman Church which were those of unity by simple conquest. But if *Imperium* and *Libertas* were both reflections from Divine archetypes in earthly affairs, it seemed to me a simple

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certainty that the order of *Libertas* was an appropriate parable which brightly foreshadowed that reign of the Holy Ghost. The union of the Reformed Communions would be knit together in a free manner of centralized intercourse. The civic order called *Imperium* would remain the secular counterpart of the Roman Church.

Organic democracy, fascinating in itself, was now twice over fascinating, because it seemed to be God's parable of how He would rebuild the fallen walls of the unity of Sion. Imagination thirsted to take in the scene, and to learn of the parable that Life had written thereon. The land was as Mount Moriah, the place where God would see His Temple of Christian union raised.

In Indiana there was little to give the idea of American immensity except its rivers. I got to the Wabash once, the waterway that had conveyed myriads of incomers since it had first been visited by the French founders of Vincennes and Terre Haute. Louisville, on the giant Ohio, affluent of the mightier Mississippi, I missed by some accident. I strolled by dusty roads to neighbouring creeks and "forks," to aid my mind to picture America, and began to take in a dim vision of the gigantic contour of the country.

I studied the people too. I conversed with old soldiers, college presidents, Germans and Irish-Americans. One of the latter named "Pete," a railway worker, told me more of the working of the American constitution than all the rest together. He had been in New Orleans in reconstruction days. He was a sturdy Jeffersonian democrat, abhorring "carpet-baggers," tariff and trust mongers, plutocrats and all who made fortunes by manipulating, instead of producing, the

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nation's wealth. Yet such men accepted genuine fraternity, and only asked that it should be legally insured against the anarchy of selfishness. If the sceptre of America was wielded by an assembly of such true hearts the future of democracy was assured. I also questioned whether, if men might be trusted to come together freely over secular interests, they might not also be trusted to come together freely over Divine religion, hoping that the Holy Ghost might bless such endeavours with the grace of lasting union.

CHICAGO AND ST. FRANCIS (October, 1900).

A hurried visit to Chicago, that followed on my visit to Indiana, helped to fill in my picture of America. About this time the hardy Capuchins had preached missions in this city. They had now secured a mission centre in the farthest plains of Nebraska. I was called to the latter State in October and spent some hours in Chicago on the way. To describe Chicago is as uncalled for as to describe Charing Cross. But to us Franciscans, who were partly a mediæval folk, the sight of it was likely to awaken certain surprised thoughts. I record here such thoughts of mine as bear, at least incidentally, on the problem that I had mostly at heart.

This city is a clearance-place for other industrial capitals, and looks it. Though reputedly the very sanctuary of Mammon, I always fancied that St. Francis, had he lived at the opening of the twentieth century, would have made Chicago his head-quarters. The cult of Mammon may draw its motly congregation, but here, too, are myriads of simple-minded peasantry who have helped to make the city the shrine

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of religious emotionalism in America. I drove with Russian moujiks in crossing the city, and watched crowds of foreign peasantry everywhere. Such folk would have been by no means intractable to the call of the Assisian. In those days Alderman "Bath-house John" (Coughlan) and Chief Kipley were great political lights. But also Dowie's "Zion City" was then in full swing some few miles off. The success of Adventists and Sensationalists of all kinds proved that the masses of that city were emotionally expectant. This state of mind denotes a yet uncorrupt heart meet for that impression of heavenliness which the genius of St. Francis was wont to impart.

Modern Puritanism which had temporarily checked the people's sense of civic beauty, had not yet won the city to civic orderliness. But that desire for beauty, without which no mortal can dream of heaven, was still plainly rooted in the multitude. I found superb "Corots" in the Municipal Museum. More significant, a vast gallery here was devoted to sketches and paintings by the children of the National Schools. The moujik's children, after all, were enabled to develop those artistic tastes that Tolstoy said were their birthright.

Amid such a people a modern St. Francis, who came with beauty of life as the revelation of Heaven, might have won this mightier Nineveh more readily than a former preacher won its Assyrian counterpart. The Franciscan ideal of poverty was the exact opposite of an insensate Ebionism, the mere negation of possessing riches. Consulting history, you will find St. Francis among the chiefest of all enrichers of mankind. That is, poverty, to the Franciscan Primitives,

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was the romantic consecration of crusts and cottages, and the peasant garb and girdle of Umbria. It was a consecration of what every peasant may own, and a revaluation that made every common possession rich with heavenly symbols. A heavenly sense of proportion of things had returned to earth through Umbria. Much of the early Renaissance that filled Italy with treasures of art was the necessary corollary of the Franciscan sacramental revaluation of the simple life and of its immediate earthly environment.

But the exploiters of mines, soils, forests, city sites and national resources of any kind, whose head offices are often enshrined in the business blocks by Dearborn Street, are too often not enrichers of mankind but mere consumers of its treasures and resources. One sees vast tracts of America as played-out and desolate as tracts of the moon. The exploiter has been there and has narrowed down Life's resources against Death. He has lost the sense of the proportional, the ever-recurring, the sacramental value of possessions. With this sense, too, there has perished the art of enjoying anything with real delight. In like fashion, a Borrow or Belloc might call the globe-trotter world-weary before learning the fascinations of the nearest parish. It is a mere truism that every such rapid exploiter is the impoverisher of himself and others. The bigger his standard, the less his appreciation of the treasure of things.

On the contrary, the primitive Franciscan doctrine of poverty, applied to the conditions under Chicago's sway, would bring about a lively intensification of worth and wealth. One need not talk of actual poverty to reach the truth for which the symbolic Lady Poverty

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stood. This truth is that wealth and true possessions should be accounted only those things on which man, the true artist, could impress his own individuality, or that on which the community could stamp the mark of its civic soul. The needs of this ideal draw men to concentrate on a cottage, a garden, an orchard, a spinny, a homestead, through which they can enrich themselves in their genuine creatorship, rather than on mere legal ownership that makes for mechanical accumulation. A cottage and garden plot, that have schooled men into artists by the interest they have evoked, are more precious to their owners and to the community than the great city-pile raised by automaton men deriving power through clever exploitations of the nation's produce or of its site-values. The Franciscan Gospel, thus translated into the language of Chicago's needs, would give men the only true secular freedom, which is the right to be a creator and an artist in the wider human sense of the words and to hold the true equivalent of the output of each one's own enterprise. The Franciscan Gospel would reveal upon all such individual and civic creatorship the blessings of a religious consecration enriching the earthly dower with a diviner significance.

There is an excuse for my associating St. Francis with American democracy, because the Franciscan movement of the thirteenth century was the most profoundly democratic movement ever recorded in history's pages. It alone of all the great world movements aimed at releasing the individuality of every common man. Its gospel of poverty aimed at destroying the private mechanical ownership of public resources and liberating the earth till it should provide a free scope for individual creatorship. What

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the Socialist vainly strives for through machinery and mechanical organization, the Franciscan Gospel achieved in real life by simply ensuring that the individuality of each soul should not be lost. Therefore those movements in American life that have come to the fore since 1900 such as the "Des Moines System," Direct Control, the Initiative, the Popular Poll, the Recall and the older movement for the taxation of the monopoly value of sites—all that brings home direct responsibility to every man—are in fundamental harmony with the Franciscan Gospel. The physical and moral ugliness of Chicago and of other great cities is an exact measurement of the unholy domination of the exploiter, a domination which has waxed great but which shall pass away.

If you have won the freedom of the soul of the people you have made all men dream of the portals of heaven. A free Catholic Church might then stand as Heaven's receiving place for all these freed men, and add Divine redemption to the gift of civic ransom.

WESTERN NEBRASKA.

Western Nebraska fringes the wild grazing lands that precede the Eastern approach to the Rocky Mountains. My destination here was the mission-house at Indianola in Red Willow County. This townlet, named after an Indian squaw, lies on the north bank of the Republican River, which is a tributary of the Kansas.

To reach this region, you steam for twenty-six hours west of Chicago crossing the Mississippi, the Missouri, and leagues of the brown prairie lands now put under the plough. You are mounting slowly amid the bluffs all the way from Lincoln, the city of W. J. Bryan.

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The Republican valley had been settled between the years 1880 and 1890 by Germans, Bohemians, Irishmen, Swedes, and Frenchmen, most of whom came from Minnesota or other States to the East. Many whole colonies being Catholic, the Church under Bishop Bonacum had become a power in the land. With Indianola, the Capuchins had accepted the charge also of Cambridge, a neighbouring township. I was left here as priest-in-charge of these parishes, while the three indefatigable preachers went on their missionary circuits. Later on I received the charge of the parish of Arapahoe as well, the three parishes together forming a district about sixty miles long.

This strange world, on the Western limits of Jefferson's "Louisiana Purchase," appeals to the imagination. The weird Republican River winds, snake-like, amid an avenue of trees and tall grass. Its blue pools are harmonized to the colour of the plenteous silver sands of the river bed. Just beyond the trees of the river-side are the deep-green alfalfa patches. Light brown bluffs arise north and south of the valley, descending ever in steps and terraces from the west. The bluffs are topped with hardy yuccas and wild vines and plum-trees. From the heights above the valley the maize-farms of the settlers clothe the crest and trough of the dry rolling lands where water is only obtained by aid of wind-mills.

The first white man to enter Nebraska was the Spaniard Coronado. But Spain only made legal claim to the country from the year 1763 to 1804.

In Indianola, religion or politics divided local society much less than the temperance question. Catholics joined with the Methodist minister to keep a saloon

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out of their own ward, and, if possible, out of Indianola. The saloon man, an Irish American, only just held his own. Six or seven loafers who frequented the bar turned the scales of the voting when a new mayor had to be elected, and the saloon man's nominee got in. Elsewise the saloon would have been suppressed.

In Cambridge, the other pastoral cure of mine, in virtue of Nebraska's Local Option Law, the citizens had suppressed the saloon.

The Capuchin missioners favoured other methods than legislation, such as sermons and missions, for combating drink. A Catholic leader, however, explained to me at length the social bearings of the liquor problem in America. He thought that an old-established society with grades and castes was protected sufficiently by custom and public opinion from demoralization by drink. But in a new society, not fully developed, drink, he thought, was a whirlpool that dragged down honesty, patriotism, public spirit, the desire for service, and reduced civic order to lawlessness. Society, then, ought to engage in mortal conflict against the saloon interest and enforce its taboo in civil ordinances.

The object-lessons around me were so convincing that I was won round to agree with the temperance men. In the West, Christian society was striving to consolidate itself, and war with drink was the chief instrument of its success in the fight. There was a patriotism for the Christian Nation as an unit that foreboded splendid achievements in the future for the structural union of all American citizens. Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists formed in Indianola a single Christian solidarity. I was glad to learn that Catholics felt that they could in some cases work with

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others and remain loyal Catholics. In so small a settlement were the forebodings of a great city, of a living Christian fellowship, the *Nova Roma* of future days.

So far the belief had been entertained that a mission would go forth from the Roman Church, and in perfect freedom from Rome aim at making good the defects of faith and order without the Roman fold. It now seemed more clear that a movement, with or without such an origin, and aiming at achieving a collective status for Reformed Christendom, could not be the outcome of a mere Union Movement. There ought first to be a widespread Revival Movement in all the Communions concerned, a quickening and fulfilling process which would make each Communion more anxious for unity, and shape the course of a common advance in that direction. That I did not mean a levelling-down process towards "Undenominationalism," but a levelling-up process, is attested by these words that I wrote at Indianola: "He alone is a true Reformer who has faith to raise the earth and man to the sacredness of the seven Sacraments of the Catholic saints".

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CHAPTER II.

THE CROSSING OVER.

PERSPECTIVE.

IT seemed now most desirable to seek and find a true bond of fellowship between myself and Christians who were outside the Roman fold. I believed that Reformed Christendom was about to win a primal Christian community-spirit again. With the grace of the Holy Spirit, the whole gathering of the Reformed would become a spiritual Catholic Church.

In seeking, then, for new bonds of fellowship, one need not be conscious of any loss of the Catholic sentiment of immersion in the Body Mystical of Christ. It was right to become an associate of Protestants, if one could but believe that the grace of the Holy Ghost had appeared within their midst.

A genuine entrance, however, into this new fellowship required an interpretation of the whole of Christian life since the Reformation. It would not suffice to believe that the Spirit was effecting a Divine revival everywhere. For, in that case, how could there be a discerning fellowship adapted to Communions as diverse as Congregationalists and Episcopalians? In making inquiry, however, it seemed that Protestant Communions might escape the reproach of having

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made light of the inherently fraternal sense of unity that should characterize Christians. The going forth of the Pilgrim Fathers from a later Chaldea was as purposive as a former departure of the Father of Israel from Ancient Chaldea for the Land of Promise. In the light of the Revival the "protests" of all Protestants would be justified. Geneva protested against Rome, but not against a spiritual Catholicity of the final Revival Days. The Friends protested against Anglican unspirituality, but not against a revived spiritual English Church of the Age of the Holy Ghost. The Wesleyans had protested that the Gospel was not preached to miners and country folk, but they had not protested against a revived Anglicanism overflowing with missionary zeal.

A note of the Divine revival, also paralleled in Biblical history, was that movements fruitful of good may have come about through the ugliest of human instruments. Good had not concurred with Evil, but Good had often come to pass through men who were the reverse of saints. St. Charles Borromeo was an instrument of a great Catholic revival without any fundamental break with men who were worshipping Moloch in Inquisition fires. A revived seeking for the comfort of the Scriptures came about with some encouragement from the astute and unholy Henry VIII. Judged by the standard of their instrumentality for the Divine purpose in the Reformation, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Knox, Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer, Browne, the Pilgrims, Fox, Baxter, Wesley, were thus truly imperfect, but truly prophetic men.

While in this mood I wrote to a Protestant minister, known to me through the Chicago press, and asked his

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advice. He answered sympathetically. He belonged, he said, to a free denomination. He noted that I adhered to tradition, but differed from Roman teachers. He therefore classed me as a virtual Anglican and mentioned the Bishop of Nebraska's name.

Dr. Worthington was absent in Boston. He referred me to Dr. Williams, his coadjutor. The coadjutor referred me to Bishop Graves of Laramie, whose jurisdiction extended over the missionary territory that comprised Western Nebraska. There was no interview, but some correspondence passed between the bishop and myself. I was cautioned about the difficulties to be expected by one trained in Roman methods who thought of entering on an Anglo-American pastorate. I was advised to go to some Cathedral town, like Denver, and put myself as a probationer under the instruction of a rector in one of the city parishes.

It was an unexpected occurrence that the centre of crystallization of my New Rome should prove to be, by no choice of mine, the Anglican Communion. I had been occupied chiefly hitherto over the study of the American Puritans, I had formed the conclusion that they, with their Evangelical allies, were undergoing an experience of a "return to Christ," of a revival of the spirit of Christ, in their midst. I had seen in this revival of Christ a parallel to the experience by which their spiritual forebears, the Hebrew Puritans, had been prepared through Revelation for His first coming.

I had doubted whether such Puritan sympathies, platonic though they were, could rightly be taken as any true preparation for offering my allegiance to the successors of their historic enemies. It was in protest

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to the Anglican Episcopal autocracy that the Pilgrim Fathers had originally settled in Massachusetts. But I then recalled, that it was the altered and humanized Puritans of the year 1900 who had awakened my interest. The American Episcopalians, too, on their part, had been free, for more than a century, from those political associations which had impelled the Puritans to become a Separatist Communion. The Evangelicals of America had not yet regained the primal Christian sense of immersion in the Body Mystical. The Episcopalians, as I learned in my correspondence with Bishop Graves—himself a devout Home Reunionist—retained the full *media* of the Primitive Christian immersion in the Living Church. In principle, therefore, there was a gulf between my faith and that of the Evangelicals. But apparently no point at issue stood between myself and a Communion founded upon fixed apostolic tradition, the pledge and guarantee of its one-mindedness with original Christianity.

Early in May, 1901, I resigned my charge of Indianola, Cambridge, and Arapahoe to one of the Capuchin Fathers. The transaction came off without a word of ill-feeling. By leaving in an unauthorized manner, I implicitly rejected the Roman obedience, and confirmed this act by accepting instruction from an authority of the Episcopalian Communion.

The journey to Denver, the capital of Colorado, which is five hours by rail westwards from Indianola, revealed to view new scenery and brought me into new conditions of American life. At the foot of the Rocky Mountains the rich Platte Valley, with its row of cities, seems like the Elysian fields, after travelling through

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the arid regions on the way. In May, also, the great approaching plains are tinged with the blue-green of young buffalo-grass that, for a brief while, freshens the appearance of the veldt. Denver rises on either side of the Platte, its massive domed capitol crowning its eastern rising. Behind are the handsome shaded avenues commanding superb views of the Rockies to the west. In the flatlands are the bustling business quarters and city blocks. A few miles westwards a giant mole of gneiss, cut with canyons, runs fifty miles from north to south, and protects the forests of the Front Range.

Above the black-green forests the winding central watershed of America arises in a ridge of glistening white peaks. The Rockies are bold-terraced and rise usually in slow, gigantic flanks. Structurally they are decked with rocky bastions and towers, rather than with spires and pinnacles of rock after the manner of the Alps.

The American province of the Anglican Communion held a commanding position in Denver, with its bishop, its cathedral, and dean, and about a dozen city churches and missions. Faith is an active and sustaining force of the soul which, like life itself, may undergo perils and be threatened with extinction. Like life it comes from the Creative Breath of God. Whoever has lost faith, can no more, of his own virtue, return to faith than, after bodily death, he can return to life again. A faith built up on a community-consciousness of the Catholic type has its own strength and its own limitations. To a Catholic, Christ lives within the Church. The authoritative test of Faith is obedience to the Papacy. If that obedience is broken,

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how can the life of Faith remain? For the present, however, belief in the Holy Ghost protected my faith, like the sheltering wings of an angel.

I held a theory of a Divine reconstruction of visible union that inherently included the American Church. But this theory had to be tested by real experience. Before long it would be necessary for the preservation of my faith that a clear vision of a Church and reign of the Holy Ghost should replace adherence to the Papacy as the visible symbol of the presence of Christ in the Church. The work ahead was of a most literal and matter-of-fact sort. Faith was likely to endure unless experience taught me that no vision of a Living Church were possible, and unless the facts of the situation contradicted my belief that the Spirit, the Comforter, was breathing the breath of Heavenly Union within every scattered Communion of worshippers of Christ.

My first evening in Denver was taken up with Blunt's "Annotated Prayer-Book," under the guidance of a city rector. On Sunday the Dean of Denver admitted me to Communion and allowed me to help him with the chalice. This Communion and ministration were to me an ever-memorable Sacrament of the Holy Ghost, and I felt, somehow, that my faith in the Kingdom of the Spirit had been sealed for ever. Dean Hart, a noted personality in the American Church, was a sturdy Englishman of fifty, spiritual and acute. He was an Evangelical in preaching nothing but the need of conversion every Sunday in the year. He was a Jeremiah to evil-doers in the city, and conjoined a deadly wit with kindliness. Doctrinally Evangelical, the Dean, with the aid of his High Church assistants,

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was equal to any High-Churchmen in the dignity and ritual of his Cathedral services.

I made the formal acquaintance of the leading clergy. The aged bishop was absent. I was instructed mostly by a Catholic-minded English minor canon. As the summer advanced, my friend, the canon, brought me, with his choir, to Evergreen, a delightful summer resort, and introduced me to the churchmen who lived there.

I lived on in Evergreen during the summer while the Standing Committee were considering my application in order to report to the bishop on the occasion of his return to Denver. With the preliminary knowledge at my disposal I spent some time reflecting on the foundations of my faith in this new environment. For the present I paid little attention to the advanced ritualistic teaching and practice of Dr. Hickman, and the problems that it suggested. The crisis had been too exhausting for such concentration.

Bishop Spalding, a patriarch in appearance and in his fatherly kindness and zeal, returned in September and called me to sign the form of subscription before two presbyters. No public recantation was asked for. It was merely expected that I would not teach as of faith necessary to salvation what the American Church did not teach. There was no subscription to the English XXXIX Articles. I solemnly swore to teach the Truth of the Scriptures and to conform to the Church's Canons. I was now free to accept orders for pastoral work under direction of the archdeacon.

ANCHORAGE.

The fundamental question of religion now encompassed me. What is the meaning of a living faith?

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Was Divine faith a treaty of allegiance with a Divine society? Or was it an act of assent to a creed found in the Bible? The High Church clergy, who were in a majority in Colorado, accepted the view that faith is an act of adherence to the Church in which the spirit of Christ is ever present to save. But Evangelicals commanded a large minority. To them, the Church was the mere corollary of faith. Faith was an assent to the truth of Christ revealed in the Bible. But one with Catholic training like myself can never imagine how an isolated act of faith can bridge nineteen centuries, nor cross the gulf between earth and heaven. On the contrary, a Divine society can easily be imagined as possessing a kind of continuous individual existence. As a man is the same individual through every age from the cradle to the grave, so may a Divine society have persisted like a greater individual from the cradle in Palestine till the present day. Of this Divine society, Christ is the living Head; the Holy Ghost, is the indwelling Life; and all who are incorporated by the Baptismal Covenant are combined in a union in the Body Mystical through which grace is given, prayers are heard, and Christ is brought to the soul in sacramental ways.

A religious Communion, however, must be appreciated not only by the faith that it praises, but also by the faith that it officially allows. The Evangelical has as well-fixed a position in the Anglican Communion as the High-Churchman has. Therefore the Episcopalian Communion was built up on a membership whose common bonds of union were not the High Church theory of the Church. For the while, I set aside the High Church theory as a mere permis-

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sible interpretation of the Church, and went in search for the fundamental bonds which linked together all Churchmen in a single Communion. The one bond taken to be essential was faith in Christ. That the Evangelical meant a creative power by faith was proved by the fact that, to him, faith of itself was all-sufficing to effect divine forgiveness. Faith then, I thought at this time, was a living "entity". It was a human participation in Eternity. It might be thought of just as Catholics thought of the Church. Perhaps faith unto repentance was the New Creation, the Church, coming as though under disguise and bearing the Saviour as over the waters of flowing Time to the convert. Faith was thus the mystical reality which touched Heaven and reached the individual soul.

Now if Evangelical faith could show no great visible unity such as the Church of Rome presented, it was at least that underlying "entity" which held a potential unity in its very nature. The diversities of Protestants who believed in faith unto repentance, arose, I thought, out of diversities of manner in which Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Evangelical Churchman, entered upon the same and single river of life. Faith itself was a priestly power. It transmuted the believing layman into a Christian priest. The whole nation of believers was a priestly nation. Thus, if faith came into effect when the Evangelical received the Sacrament, the reception itself was a priestly and consecrative act, and Christ entered with the faith of the receiver just as the Evangelical Christian taught.

And if faith was a sufficiently regal "entity" to be the centre of the crystallization of Christendom around Christ, a true conception of Christian union inherently

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existed in the act of faith. Various rays from the central faith that Christ was a living Saviour extended into each of the Christian Communions, and in truth had created them. The High Church theory of a Living Church was true to High-Churchmen, because the ray of Creative Energy that filled their minds with faith, had begun to shape their life into an organic whole. Another Divine ray entered the minds of Evangelicals and converted them. As these same rays continued in their creative course, organizations sprang up, federations were formed, fundamental unity was in part revealed to sight. Yet unification was as impossible to achieve by human efforts only as salvation itself was impossible to gain by the merits of man.

Such views filled my mind in Denver, in my first visit to Evergreen, and during the visits to Buena Vista and Littleton on the occasion of my first pastoral cures within the American Church. In Rome there had been an achieved visible unity. Among Evangelical Protestants there was the *promise* of a visible unity in the creative efficacy of Evangelical faith. My change of allegiance did not seem to amount to very much. But one thing was certain. Unless I found Evangelicals with a mind and heart to strive unceasingly after union and brotherhood, my hopes in the Age of the Holy Ghost were sure to be shattered.

Buena Vista, the First Cure.

In November the Archdeacon sent me to take charge of Buena Vista until the absent rector was able to return, or until another permanent appointment was made. Buena Vista heads a smoothly ascending and narrowing valley. Ranches and woodlands lead up

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to it. Descending by the east side, southwards, are the roaring opaque waters of the Arkansas. The twelve colossal peaks of the Saguache rise from the west of the valley. Eastwards, above the river, arise shapeless rocks, and the grotesque humps of the Buffalo Peaks. Southwards, twenty-five miles away, are the snow-capped Sangre de Cristo sierras that turn into a sparkling crimson when the rays of the setting sun fall upon them.

The little mining town is seen from the highly raised Colorado Midland Station, laid out in squares like a chess-board, and all beset with light green alamos. There are thermal springs four miles westwards at the foot of Yale Peak. From that direction a crystalline stream flows through Buena Vista and joins the Arkansas. Mr. Morley, the late manager of the smelter, had dammed the waters of the greater river and turned it to use as power for the town and smelter lights.

The rector, Mr. Rooney, had got leave of absence for the winter, and I was appointed as priest-in-charge for six months. Among the Church folk were the manager and superintendent of the smelter, and their families; a judge of English origin and violent accent; several leading citizens with their families; a long whiskered and talkative veteran of the Federal army who had a ranch; a State senator and ranchman who earned far more by his senator's salary than by his farm; two or three other ranchmen with their families, and several ladies, each of whom was the sole Church member of the family. A zealous Ladies' Guild looked after Church needs.

By rights I should have gone to the Theological

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Seminary, but had no means to pay my way. Failing that, the position of assistant would have been of more use to me than a sole charge. The chief aim of Church folk, in a distant town like Buena Vista, amid a class of mining folk quite anti-religious, was to build up a Christian society apart from saloon influences. While sharing in select cultured interests of others, they gathered mostly round their Church, they studied all its affairs, and were guided chiefly from the rectory.

The people felt my want of leadership, the result of inexperience in their Communion. They disliked the closing of the rectory as a place of meeting, and the displacing of the centre of Church social life through the coming of a bachelor pastor.

The Church members, however, were wondrously devoted and self-sacrificing in supporting the mission. I paid a round of calls at least every fortnight, and when the occasion offered, I explored the whole neighbourhood in spite of the wintry season during which I was resident.

The services were of a Low Church type, but I had not yet studied the whole problem of the significance of ritual in its new bearings. Other crucial problems held for some while yet a pre-eminent place.

Inwardly I felt I was making a solemn acknowledgment of the supreme truth that the Holy Ghost rested upon Communions other than that of Rome as well as on the Roman Communion. Ordinarily speaking, this acknowledgment only proceeded through my literal obedience to the scheme of duties of a priest-in-charge of the missionary parish. Beyond this acknowledgment that only had a meaning to myself, I felt no necessary call at all costs to become a herald and

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prophet of the message of a spiritual return of Christ for the revival and reunion of His Church. I should not have contradicted my conscience had my testimony never been explained, and its meaning kept to myself. I published a couple of papers on Christ and a Federal Christendom which I admit were uninstructed. I wrote a paraphrase and a short commentary on St. John's Gospel. But, in truth, I was at the very beginning of any clear understanding of actual Church problems, and writings were now but aids to learning.

Object-lessons on the wider vistas of Divine Grace were however forthcoming. I learned that for Thanksgiving Day, November 29, it was the custom to hold a Reunion Service alternately in the Episcopalian, the Methodist, and the Congregationalist Churches. In each Church the proper minister preached, but the other two were wont to help him at prayers and lessons. I did not know the authority for joining in these Reunion Services. I believed that it was an obligatory custom, and was right glad that it was so.

I gave out on the Sunday before the 29th that the Union Service that year would take place at the Methodist Church, whose turn it then was. The purpose of the Union Service was that the Christian people in their collective capacity should thank God for His blessings to the nation, and collectively offer prayer and praise. The Methodist pastor, a young Virginian with flaxen hair and dressed in swallow-tails, preached like a youthful Isaiah on the glories of the American people of God. The Congregationalist, who was devout and liberal, but more sedate than his confrère, offered a long extemporary prayer. I read from the platform a Church collect for Thanksgiving Day, and

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hymns were sung by the congregation combined from the three Churches.

I joined this service with the deliberate intention of assenting to the work of the Holy Ghost amid these and all the other Christian Communions of America. The day of the Awakening was at hand; the day of the Universal Revival drew nigh. I accepted this canonically lawful coming together in a Union Service as a token and pledge from the Holy Spirit that as He had in this symbolical manner gathered together three Christian Communions in a common worship of God, without any loss of their separate identity, so, in the future, He would gather together all Christian Communions in one perfect union, in a manner as yet perhaps undreamed of by men.

Union Services at Granite (January to April, 1902).

The Thanksgiving Day Service seemed well advised, because it emphasized a union built upon the collective strength of permanently distinct units. There were other union services the value of which was more questionable. At the Placer Camp of Granite, fifteen miles from Buena Vista, up the gorge of the Arkansas, there was a "Union Church". The ministers of various Communions attended on different Sundays. On the last Sunday of the month I attended for the Episcopalian Church. The total population of Granite was about 250. The congregation usually numbered about 100. The service was a modified Evensong. Hymns were chosen that every one knew. About twenty of those present were Episcopalian. Our best singer

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was the Roman Catholic agent (stationmaster) who joined in the prayers and singing with zest.

Devotional feeling seemed more emphatic at these services than at the services at Buena Vista. The members of various Communions appeared to be stimulated especially by the consciousness that they were giving a kind of symbolical attestation to the fact that Christians of all denominations belonged to the one Christian people of God. It counts for much in weighing the chances of ulterior reunion that American social life in all the lesser country towns is largely the creation of the Christian spirit acting collectively on members of various Communions. Christians are forced to combine socially to resist the saloon influence, and to place moral sanctions on the normal public life of the citizens. Where all Christians form a social solidarity, it is easy for them to combine, betimes, at worship. At all events, America is fortunate in presuming the normal unity of all Christians, and in taking their divisions as abnormalities which should not endure for ever.

At Granite the whole feeling was thus for union. Yet logic, I must admit, working upon accepted principle, drove things somewhat the other way. These union services were really indistinguishable from Methodist or other services. The distinctive characteristics of Church Sacramentalism were eliminated. In many instances the Union Church ends by becoming a Methodist Church. The Churchmen at Granite told me that this was almost sure to happen in their own locality, and they were asking for distinctly Church services in a special chapel or room.

In other words, here was an illustration and

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object-lesson of the working of undenominational Christianity. Instruction only came to me through experience. In face of this object-lesson I was obliged to revert to my principles. It then appeared that the Mystical Body of the Holy Church into which the Holy Ghost was even now breathing the unitive Breath of Life, was as essentially a structural body as that of all units of visible life. The Church was not to be an invertebrate pulp, but a sacred Divine structure unto which the Spirit would bring many limbs, organs, processes, and traditions. The Spirit would therewith rear up a vertebrate structure of beauty, symmetry, harmony, in living inter-communion. Herein would be preserved every distinctive note of each spiritual experience of men.

THE MISSION OF ST. PAUL'S, LITTTETON (May to August, 1902).

At the end of April the order came to undertake pastoral care of St. Paul's, Littleton. The journey thither brought me by the historic Leadville, where the courteous Mr. McGeorge drove me to see the California Gulch now scooped down to the bare rock. The rector during the sensational days of discovery was "Father" Burn, who got his title from the miners whose sympathies he altogether won. The veteran rector, then over ninety years of age, was living in retirement near Denver.

After Leadville a train of the narrow-gauge line creeps up a watershed as high as Mont Pérdu in the Pyrenees, amid a vision of giant snowy peaks. It descends into the famous plateau called the South Park, and advances down the long gorge called the

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Platte Canyon until you change for Littleton on the plains by the Platte River. Littleton, like its compeers, is shaded with alamos, and is surrounded by irrigation lands and rich orchards. It is of no great consequence, having only 900 inhabitants, and is only about nine miles from the heart of Denver. Duties here were normal, and, once a month, I visited the more congenial Plum Creek, where there were the hearty ranchmen and cowboys.

Object-lessons were, however, taught me about the need of Christian co-operation. The chief citizens were almost unanimous against the burden that its six competitive Churches imposed upon the slender resources of Littleton. A desire for active co-operation also existed among the various Christian Communions. On one occasion two very earnest evangelists called and asked me to co-operate in a general mission. I conversed with them sympathetically. On asking which was their denomination they replied that they were merely evangelists who belonged to no denomination. I, of course, could not respond without knowing much more about the ways of missions and revival services in the American Church. After all, a very thin veil separated such men from Franciscan Revivalists.

Franciscans and these evangelists equally laboured to revive Christ within minds and hearts. Two-thirds of the preaching of the Capuchins at Kansas was identical with the preaching of the evangelists of Littleton. The Capuchins worked with all the realism of their Catholic usage, in addition to the preaching of repentance. They distributed images, crucifixes, pictures, and holy water, and announced indulgences.

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They heard confessions and absolved the penitent, and revived devotion to Christ sacramentally present. But was not this use of palpable things, the Catholic manner of asserting the sheer transcendence of the kingdom, which, following Christ's announcement, came to earth, and thereby included everything on the earth? Water, wax, metal, and every visible sign, were impressed to bear witness that God's kingdom included the service of all that God had made. Sacramental usages were but various ways of acknowledging the supreme inclusiveness of God.

The existing antipathy between Christ's equal evangelists was as though identical letters of the alphabet spelt good words to Catholics and wicked words to Evangelicals. But it was far more certain that Catholic sacramentalism would not be surrendered than that Evangelicalism might not in a sheer intensity of its own religion require more sacramental aid than it had hitherto asked for. Hope then lay in the prospect that the Holy Ghost might so deepen the heart of Evangelical religion that the converted should reach unto an apprehension of the Divine inclusiveness that would make them become sacramentalists apart from accepting any modern refinements of Catholic piety. Thus, if they never became one, they might at least arrive at a mutual and permanent understanding. And all the vision of union in the Holy Ghost I asked for was to witness the same Holy Spirit bringing into sympathy and inter-communion those who retained their time-honoured characteristics at the very time in which they were entering upon this new inter-communion.

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CHAPTER III.

AN ALTAR AND SACRIFICE IN A MOUNTAIN PARISH.

An Appreciation.

After a few months' residence at Littleton, I again had reason to leave the Platte Valley scene and return to a mountain resort.

Evergreen is reached from the plains through a twelve-mile winding gorge of wild grandeur. It is the ritualistic stronghold of Colorado. The family of the rector own most of the neighbourhood, and live at Camp Neosho. This is a gathering of a dozen tents amid the pines, with a great log dining-room, and an octagon-shaped library also built of logs. Around are the middle mountains topped with pines. Within sight is the giant snow-capped Evans Range. There are several sloping woodlands, and a few cultivated spots. A wooden rectory with a long verandah, and a wooden church stand close beside the waters of the Bear Creek. There are two "stores" by the road that ascends the stream towards the great forest which rests finally on the flanks of the central range, ten miles above. In summer the camps and bungalows are busy with visitors, but during winter only a few lumbermen and storekeepers live in the neighbourhood.

The rector of Evergreen was the founder of a devout

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colony of American "Ritualists," [1] whose head-quarters were in this parish. Unfortunately, he had been obliged to labour elsewhere on account of ill-health. He was a missionary, and a truly evangelical Catholic of the Anglo-American fold. The active propaganda he had originated in Evergreen had been suspended, and when Dr. Hickman left for Southern California I was asked to act as priest-in-charge, and minister to the needs of the missionary parish until the projected more active missionary enterprise in all the neighbourhood could be renewed.

Believing that all included in "Ritualism" was one of the devotional expressions of a widespread religious revival, I was predisposed to this Catholic-Evangelical Revivalism and accepted the appointment. I was inclined to emphasize the parallel between the authority for Ritualistic practices and the binding authority of a voluntary contract. Those who have no Papacy to rule over them with authority, may yet place themselves under authority by the effective method of vowing to obey a superior. The Papal Catholic vows to obey the Papal authority when he makes his baptismal vows, or when he first understands these. The Anglican Communion places no such official interpretation on the vows of baptism as an acceptance of an authority parallel to that of the Roman Pontiff. The Ritualist, therefore, is one who has, by an act of devotion, devoted or vowed himself to accept as Divine Truth an additional standard of doctrine and Catholic

[1] By "Ritualist" I do not mean a mere Ritualist, but a Catholic-minded Anglican or Anglo-American Churchman who believes that definite Catholic teaching must be accompanied by a corresponding series of definite practices, through which such Catholic doctrines receive a fixed and popular acknowledgment.

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usage above that which the leaders of the Anglican Communion and the canonical authorities of the Church enforce upon their subjects.

Thus, one can point to a sharply defined difference between Anglo-Catholic Revivalism and Catholic Revivals within the Roman Communion. The essential character of all Roman Revivalism, from great movements like the Counter Reformation and the Jesuit Reform of the discipline of the Roman Church, to the Capuchin Revivalism in Kansas with which I had been in association a few months previously, is ever much the same. Roman revivals seek to persuade and exhort men to live up to the full significance of their baptismal vows under their publicly accepted Papal interpretation. But the Anglo-Catholic Revival while revealing close affinities with all the Catholic Revivals of the Ages, differs in a fundamental manner from Papal Revivalism in the fact that it is an attempt to get men to devote or vow themselves into obedience to an authority which, by such an act "devotion" only, is re-instituted in power.

The Anglo-Catholic, to the ordinary Churchman, is thus in a parallel position to the member of a Roman religious community towards an ordinary Catholic. By an "act of devotion," sometimes even by formal vows—always by significant acts of testimony—the "Ritualist" binds himself to accept a hitherto unexerted authority in the Anglican Communion. In so far as the canonical authorities of the Anglican Communion accept this devotional profession of theological piety and its rule of life, the Ritualist possesses a certain spiritual and devotional equality with Catholics everywhere. Moreover, the latent authority of his intended

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episcopal and other superiors now becomes an actual authority; and to this canonical authority he is bound by a self-imposed, and officially accepted obligation, to render obedience.

With this extremely important limitation, I think that the parallel between the Ritualistic Revival, and—to point to one out of many—the Jesuit Revival of Papal Catholicism, is very clearly marked. In the Jesuit, as in every other Catholic Revival, Monasticism has taken a leading part. The Cluniac, the Franciscan, the Jesuit Revivals of Catholicism were promoted by religious orders. But their object was not to induce the Catholic world to accept new obligations. It was, rather, to induce them to live up to the realities of what every Catholic in the world accepted as of the life of Catholic obedience, granted the religious spirit was revived within his soul. Ritualists have to overcome the obstacle of first winning over the ordinary Churchman to accept an addition to his religion of which he had never dreamed. The Ritualist has the extra duty of winning over the ecclesiastical authorities to exercise a new kind of leadership and become the chiefs of a new obedience. He would advance to another stage the existing general movement within the Anglican Communion, to induce Churchmen to pledge themselves anew to a theological piety and Church practice, which had lapsed into almost total desuetude.

Thus Ritualism, since Pusey's time, has been a kind of renewed "vow" to accept the sum of written doctrines in which East and West agree, and with which the Anglican formulas, by a liberal interpretation, do not disagree. These doctrines, not specifically within

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Anglican formulas in any officially accepted construction of them, may yet easily be found. Of course, private theologians cannot impose the result of their learned researches on English Churchmen. But when they do win the assent of Churchmen to concur in a particular ritualistic manner of acknowledging doctrines such as the Real Presence or the Sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, these "converts" are bound to obey exactly after the manner of the "contract" or "vow" in which they give their assent.

The interpreting authority of these "devotional Catholics" must be found in their own chosen superiors. Even if Greek and Roman assent is witnessed to in clear and definite written formulas, these formulas are worthless without an authoritative interpreter. The only living interpreters for Ritualists are the Ritualistic "leaders". But the only authority of leaders like Keble, Pusey, and Liddon, and those of the present day, lies in the weight of their private theological judgment. As an "interpreter," the Ritualist must remain on a par with every Protestant divine, even if he accepts the doctrine of what he believes is the mind of the Universal Church. He must place his constructions and interpretations on Catholic doctrines under the risk of finding them declared inconsistent with his Anglican allegiance.

These points about Anglo-Catholicism were evident to me in an indeterminate way soon after I had the honour of being associated with some of these cavaliers of Church authority. I deeply respected the whole movement, in so far as it was taken to be a voluntary and devotional movement. I had come in touch with what was a religious revival in a very exceptional mean-

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ing of the words. But no one trained in Roman Catholic ways would dream for an instant that Ritualists could assert authority over Protestants who had not first, by some deliberate act, equal to a vow, publicly accepted the Ritualistic construction of Anglican formulas. Here I stood on common ground with Protestants, yet I probably differed from Protestants in seeing in the Ritualistic Revival one phase of the Universal Revival of the spirit of Jesus Christ within the Communions of Reformed Christendom.

Pastoral Cure at Evergreen.

With such views in my mind I prepared to accept the call to act as priest-in-charge of the Ritualistic parish in the summer resort of Evergreen. My first service, on arrival there, on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 24 June, was a well-attended Eucharist with coloured vestments. From henceforth there were daily Eucharists celebrated in the neighbouring camp.

In the Low Church parishes like Buena Vista and Littleton, I had acted with the deliberate intention of fulfilling the mind of the Church as expressed in the mind of the congregation of devout worshippers. The Evangelical may be as devout as the Ritualist; but he does not believe in a "presence" in the elements, and therefore does not kneel and adore before them. To one with Roman training the Evangelical Eucharist is what may be called a glorified spiritual Communion, such as a father of a family might offer up if there were no priest near. Or, in a sense, the act of consecration may be said to be made with the intention to take

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effect while the communicant receives. My vision of faith at that time fitted in with this latter view.

But, at a Catholic parish like Evergreen, the faith of a devout circle of worshippers was one that acknowledged the Presence in the elements and worshipped and adored after the manner of their faith. The Protestant calls this "magic". But if one accepts that primal assumption of the Christian Religion, that the soul of mankind is as real an entity as the private human soul, this criticism is plainly uninstructed. According to Catholic feeling, the Real Presence may be said to exist in the privacy of the mind and soul of the *ecclesia*. By an easy use of analogy, this "community-mind" and "community-soul" may be said to extend externally from private minds upon "consecrated" objects. Through such a medium the Real Presence may be said to exist within the consecrated elements before reception exactly as the devout believe. If my rendering of Catholic intuitions is true, Catholics think of no Real Presence outside the privacy of the sphere of the soul of the *ecclesia*. Every Catholic, in truth, feels that the Holy Church is the medium through which Christ passes sacramentally into the elements of bread and wine. The Holy Church, being a living entity, may possess a "sphere" comprising the places it has consecrated, and the oblations of bread and wine which were first placed at its disposal by the gift of the faithful.

Feeling that there was a sincere expression of Catholic sacramental faith at Evergreen, I celebrated the Holy Mysteries of the Eucharist with the complete priestly sacrificial intention of offering them, and of consecrating the elements. Hitherto I had not done so

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ever since I had left the Roman obedience. Though I had celebrated the Holy Mysteries on several occasions at Evergreen in the previous autumn, my intention on those occasions was simply conformed to that publicly declared Eucharistic intention of the Episcopalian Communion.

The significance of the doctrine of sacrificial intention as applied in this new environment, gradually became clear to me. It was largely on the ground of imperfect intention that Anglican ordinations had been declared invalid by Pope Leo XIII, and, in consequence, the priestly validity of all Anglican Eucharists had been denied.

But, at least, the Anglican ordinal was filled with the implication that Anglican ordinations to the three-fold ministry were intended to be complete. Anglican clergy might be self-interdicted from consecrating with priestly intention, but the moment such a priestly intention was revived, this self-imposed restriction was at an end.

In my case, even from the Roman viewpoint, my own powers of consecration, and of offering the Holy Sacrifice, could still be validly exercised, even if my powers of absolution had departed the moment I ceased to be in visible communion with the Papacy. I now acknowledged that Anglican priests, who consecrated with the same intention as Roman priests, were equal to Roman priests. For, if the acuteness of disputants had detected defects, this had but left scope for the Holy Ghost, granted that faith and the intention of faith returned. My views, however, for the present were mainly "instinctive". Much had to be studied before they could be more clearly formulated.

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The question of jurisdiction and of the validity of Anglican priestly absolutions also came up. From the Roman point of view no Anglican can absolve at all, and even those who, like myself, had been ordained by Roman bishops, could only absolve *in periculo mortis.* Yet Dr. Hickman, and the absent rector, were urgent on the use of Confession.

On this usage Rome taught that perfect sorrow and repentance apart from confession effected the remission of sins committed after Baptism. Auricular confession was imposed as a safeguard against imperfect sorrow, and was decreed as the condition of admission to the Holy Table.

While I was at Buena Vista, the Methodist pastor of Breckinridge had preached a revival mission, the purpose of which was to lead every one into perfect sorrow and repentance proved by public acknowledgment of their faults and a purpose of amendment of life. This is what Catholics would do, by rights, if deprived of the ministrations of a priest. Now if auricular confession meant only such a testimony to the effectiveness of faith, inducing love, and creating perfect sorrow for sin, then such a practice was right of itself. The priest declared absolution, forgiveness followed, but forgiveness would have followed on such perfect repentance if a layman had absolved, or if no one had absolved.

But Rome taught that priestly absolution released from sin also when sorrow was not perfect through love, but merely the result of the "dread of hell". This priestly power, however, was said to be null and void, until the right to use it came from papal jurisdiction handed down by stamped documents through the

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bishop to the priest. In the Anglican Communion, any parallel to Roman priestly power so to absolve must arise from letters of jurisdiction from the Apostle's successor, the Bishop of the territory in question, with his official seal and signature. I had held such papers within the Roman obedience. I was not given them from the American Bishop of Colorado at Evergreen.

In England, I learned afterwards, this authority might be said to be commissioned through the Prayer Book. But the American Prayer Book purposely left out from the Exhortation any allusion to priestly Absolution, and the form of priestly Absolution, in the Prayers for the Sick. I had the right, then, to declare the needful conditions for absolution, which were sorrow, the love of God, and repentance. I might encourage penitents to give public or private tokens of the sincerity of their repentance. I might declare that they were absolved from their sins by the Holy Ghost; but until official papers of jurisdiction arrived from the Bishop, I could not exercise the priestly power to absolve as I had done under Roman jurisdiction.

Thus it appeared that, once you chose to judge by the standard of Catholicity, Reformed Communions, even the Anglican Communions, revealed "defects" throughout all their sphere of organization. Thus also, a more clear understanding became possible of what one might hope to be effected through a supplementary office and function of the Holy Ghost, in response to faith and prayer. Judged mechanically, these various Communions without the Roman fold were exceedingly imperfect. But, also, the greater their defects of form, the greater the scope for this supplementary work of the Holy Ghost. And if the

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Spirit should complete His vivifying work, faith would lead to the divine authorization of a new Catholicity independent of all that rigidly legalistic priestly authority, against which the Reformation had been a protest. Therefore this new Catholicity was a free Catholicity, the creation of the Spirit through faith. Its voluntary acceptance, moreover, would require little alteration of the existing Anglican, Reformed, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, Congregationalist, and Baptist organizations.

To join now in co-operation with the devotional Catholicism of Evergreen was a privilege. The immediate duty was to minister to the ordinary needs of the congregation. The mission that the rector wished to see undertaken among all the neighbouring mountain settlements must be deferred until more favourable circumstances arose. It was possible, at least, to study the spiritual needs of the people of Evergreen in order to learn how to bring this devotional Catholicism into accordance with the purpose of its wider missionary appeal. The living Church, as every true Churchman believes, is divinely commissioned to draw upon the resources of the Atonement in response to the pastoral needs of new peoples beset with the problems of their new environment.

Meanwhile, the circle of Catholic Churchmen was small. During the summer season, however, my pastorate had grown, through the presence of visitors into a fairly representative gathering of all the various Christian and non-Christian religions of America. The pronounced Evangelicals, like Methodists and Baptists, were tended by a Methodist pastor. Churchmen, out of a feeling of Christian fraternity, had helped him

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to build his chapel and establish the mission. Both High Church folk and Low Church folk gathered at our own little church. A Presbyterian student of medicine and several prominent unbelievers, including a free-thinking professor, also came. The professor's wife was a Churchwoman, who had been brought up a Swedenborgian.

Outside the circle of Church attendance, there were a good many Roman Catholic families, of whom few were really practising Catholics. Many of the lumbermen were of no religion.

Among those who belonged to non-Christian religions was a learned Colonel, an independent Theosophist, who reversed the pessimism of Buddhistic Theosophists by proclaiming the doctrine of the Seven Ages, in which good and progress were "foredoomed" for mankind, and against whose advance all the evil of the world was cast in vain. The Colonel's wife claimed to be a seer and mind-healer. She taught to a select class of students at Boston a systematic method of "spiritual cure," more elaborate than Christian Science, but closely akin to it. There were two propagandists of spiritualism in the valley. Several believers in the "New Korah," who were good musicians, paid us a visit. Two Christian Scientists came up from Chicago and championed their creed against all oncomers at the hotel. Millenarians also were diligent propagandists. There were, moreover, believers in osteopathy, in the renovating power of exercises; and also faith healers, without any particular system.

Since many of these were great proselytisers, and made many converts, the work of the pastorate re-

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quired a considerable amount of apologetics. My work was also varied in other ways. On one occasion I performed a funeral service with full Roman rites for a Roman Catholic. I examined the claims of an English spiritualist who could produce such extraordinary phenomena that almost the entire neighbourhood believed that she could evoke spirits. The verisimilitude of the "voices" to those of deceased persons, known exclusively to this or that individual present, was startling. Tests failed to discover any fraud in a case. A critic, like the late Mr. Podmore, might have explained the wonder by aid of a theory that the sounds of the "voices" of deceased persons might be supposed to "ring on," like musical airs, in some organ of the memory of their surviving friends and acquaintances. The "sitter," in the clair-audience of the trance, hears and mimics these "ringing memories," usually mixing up with her "voice reproductions" the fantastic views current in spiritualistic circles. But the Christian pastor regards such occurrences as a people's revolt against the Reformers' interdiction of prayers for the souls of the Faithful Departed or Invocation of the Blessed Ones.

I could cite a great many more instances of religious realism encountered in my pastorate in the Bear Creek Canyon. Plainly there was reason for an advance movement of the Christian faith. In such a case, devout Catholic-minded people should cultivate a devotion to the Holy Ghost, such as that suggested in the Hymn *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Around was a new Gnosticism, a desire to probe into all mysteries, an attempt at an unauthorized communication with spirits of departed persons. Above all, there was an

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insatiable thirst for palpable realities of religion. No doubt, if any of these "Healers" really restored peace of soul along with health of the body, their challenge to Christianity was a very real one. But, in Christian tradition, the coming of the Holy Ghost has always manifested itself in comfort that is both spiritual and palpable too. The opposition of spiritual and physical blessing was in fundamental contradiction to all that I had ever been taught about the Catholic Faith and the coming of the Holy Ghost.

Therefore I was convinced that if the New Dispensation of the Holy Spirit, belief in which had led me to leave the Roman Communion, were at hand, the Catholic doctrine about the Spirit could be applied within the heart of Protestant Christendom. The Holy Spirit, coming upon all devout Christian ministers and pastors, would send them as missioners of faith and healing in that field that was so plainly ripe for the harvester.

Protestant Christianity, in moving towards the Sion of Union, would thus appropriate many treasures of Catholicism, but none of its autocratic manner of government. It would discover the secret of fraternal unification, the secret of the soul of the Church, the secret of the immersion in the Greater Humanity. It would learn how Christ and His assembly of the redeemed, the Communion of Saints, were inseparable. It would learn how a solemn worship and adoration of a present Christ is really the gateway into the soul of the Church—that Christ, by the Spirit, truly dwells upon human altars. Protestantism would learn how the process of unification and perfect fraternity is fulfilled in part through solemn commemorations of

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the Faithful Departed—that there is a meaning in *Dirges*, *Placebos*, and *Requiems*, and devotional intercessions. Such are man's only rightful ways of approach to the beloved departed, who are on their journey towards Christ. Protestants would learn that a certain reverent manner of converse with the Blessed Ones, through Christ, was inherently included in the truth of the Communion of Saints—that there is a means of communicating through Christ with those who are within the *limina* of the perfected Body Mystical.

Of all this great achievement amid Reformed Christians "Ritualistic" Catholics were the real pioneers. The number of Ritualists would always remain an exceedingly small proportion in the Christian Communions outside of Rome. The reason was that Ritualists felt bound in conscience by a Mediæval tradition, a tradition ramified into infinite refinements such as the common sense of mankind would never consider to have been divinely ordered or obligatory. The assimilation of Catholic spiritual treasures would happen only in response to particular wants and would fit in with the characteristic organization of each Reformed Communion. The rivals of Christianity were constantly teaching Christians not to reject such sacred assurances of a living Spirit, a living Communion of Saints, a living Healer of men as were afforded by Catholic sacramentalism.

These deeper assurances of the Comforter abiding with mankind would be given without any Protestant organization undergoing any fundamental change. The true method of the Spirit was to convince every one of their sins, their defects,—therefore of their

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wants,—and therefore of how these might be supplied. The method of the Spirit was to deepen the religion of sentiment into a religion of fruition. The work of the Spirit was an essentially maturing process. Out of shadows the Spirit wove substances. Out of conflicting organizations, the Spirit created fraternity and federation. Faith underwent a process of intensification, until it proved itself to be the visible reality of an assembly of Communions crystallized slowly through federations, conventions, and conferences, into a perfect Nation of God, with its capital, or Zion, of aspiration, prayer, work and endeavour; with its provinces in the various united communions, and its organized Home and Foreign Mission whereby to convert the world.

While my training for this environment was so incomplete, a forward movement of evangelization was not possible. The only missionary enterprise that I undertook, besides preaching at Morrison, was the founding of a new mission centre eight miles up the Bear Creek Canyon at Brookvale. There was no note of Ritualistic Catholicism about this mission. Hearing that the inhabitants wished to have occasional services, I agreed to officiate on Sundays alternately with the Methodist minister, at a ranch belonging to a devout Baptist lady. The minister drove me there when I went to arrange about the services, but as he was unable to attend, through the pressure of other work, the whole care of the neighbourhood was eventually left to me.

At the first service there were present two Roman Catholics, an indifferent English Churchwoman, Baptists, Presbyterians, a Methodist, and, on other occasions,

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Congregationalists. There were no Episcopalians, but the service was a modified form of Evensong with Episcopalian hymns that were also in the Methodist hymn-books. This was a fairly good type of a Union Service, and the whole congregation joined in with devotion and zeal. I was not able to attend again on Sundays, so it was agreed that the people should get the use of the school and have their own service. The whole population of the vicinity, comprising forty-six adults and a few children, attended these services. They bought their own "organ" and chose their own prayers and hymns. I learned that the members of such congregations believed that religion made the requirement of moral co-operation as well as personal holiness. The Baptist lady at whose ranch the first meetings had gathered was wont to assume that Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians were all of one religion with her, provided that they applied the teaching of "justification by good works". The two Catholics readily fitted in with this ideal. One of them remained a convinced Roman Catholic. The other, who had long since ceased to practise his religion, came now at least under a renewed religious influence. The lesson of this spontaneous American agreement upon the point that religion purported and promoted moral solidarity was not readily to be forgotten.

It is right that such preparatory work should be undertaken along all the frontiers of the Church's expansion. But my experience, both at Evergreen and at this new centre of missionary enterprise, revealed my need for more knowledge of Church method before I could undertake any really effective work.

Missionary experience is, in one sense, equal to the

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best of doctors of divinity, because it teaches the needs of the world. But the knowledge gained by such experience must be brought into harmony with the Church's apostolic tradition. It was therefore necessary to seek other sources of information than those which this missionary neighbourhood had to present.

In Evergreen also, during the fall of the year, the principal residents and all the visitors left. There was no medium of association between myself and sources of information about the manner in which the American Church translated the traditions of the older faith and worship, in its labour of missionary propaganda. By the end of February, 1903, the strain of isolation was too severe. I could not learn, since the sources of information were removed. I could not teach without having learned more, and the whole mountain region was buried deep in snow. This led to resignation under the doctor's caution against a threatened collapse of health. I spent six weeks by the Pacific where the climate was like that of early June in England, after which I returned by the desert lands of the Mexican border to Denver.

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CHAPTER IV.

SALVATION IS UNIFICATION.

EVENTS AND THOUGHTS IN DENVER.

AS a member of the *Ecclesia discens*, I was privileged to learn, through visits to Denver, and, later on, through residence for some months within that city, many valued lessons about the corporate standing of the American Episcopal Church.

The consecration of Bishop Olmsted in the spring of 1902 at the Denver Cathedral was one of the most impressive services I have ever attended. It was plain that the "ordinand," the consecrator, the six assistant bishops, and the congregation, were convinced that consecration meant the handing on of the apostolic office. There is no "vicar of Christ" above the Anglican episcopate, and the ceremony therefore impressively dramatized what was the foundation of Church order in the Anglican tradition.

At this consecration, at the two ordinary Synods, and the Election Synod, convened for electing a bishop, the vision of the Church as a canonical order of Christian Faith and Practice came into view. The Ritualists at Evergreen had their visionary Catholic Church. The ordinary Churchmen of all parties had here their canonical Church ruled exclusively by the

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written constitution and laws of canonical order. In the American Church the clergy and laity are interrelated through a model constitution which is thoroughly representative. The clerical order dominate in spiritual affairs, but cannot legislate without a confirmatory lay vote. The laity dominate in temporal affairs of finance. The Synod, called the Annual Council, runs upon precise business lines. Mr. Dupont Parker, the chief lay-canonist, was auditor of the Colorado and Southern Railway, and that year he was president of the Society of Auditors of the United States. With such helpers the Church's finances were administered with the scientific precision of the most able of American business concerns.

Colorado was fully represented in the Triennial General Synod of the American province of the Anglican Communion, called the General Convention. Dr. Hickman had attended the San Franciscan Convention of 1901. He had there become acquainted with the qualifications of Mr. C. S. Olmsted, the rector of Bala, Pennsylvania, whom he proposed as candidate, and whom the Council elected in January, 1902, as successor of Bishop Spalding, lately deceased. Bishop Olmsted, in turn, had brought several other clerics with him from the Eastern Dioceses. Thus Colorado was in constant touch with the whole of the American Church, and the bishop attended all the important unofficial conferences on Church polity where the bishops met in assembly. Bishop Spalding, his predecessor, told me he had attended two Lambeth Synods. Bishop Olmsted subsequently attended the Synod of 1908 and sat on the Committee of Reunion and Inter-Communion.

All these tokens create a profoundly different im-

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pression of unity to that felt by Roman Catholics. The reason of this difference of impression is worth analysing.

In the Roman Church, every chief instrument of Eternal Salvation has its proper manner of visualization. The sovereignty of the Saviour is sacramentally manifested in the unity of Church Order. A mere federation of the episcopate possesses an intelligible unity, but a papacy commanding universal individual allegiance acts as a visible and tangible Sacrament of unity. The Sacramental life is parallel to the material life. Crossed vestments and crucifixes are signs of mystical contact with Calvary. Images and Invocation are the visible sign of the Communion with the Saints. Commemorations of the Saints are an acknowledgment of the real existence of risen mankind. *Requiems* are the "canonical approach" to the spirits of the Departed.

Through all such practices collectively there exists a harmony of interrelated visible things consecrated to Heaven. They are the symbols by which each Roman Catholic partakes of the vision of a City of Eternal Salvation, a vision which is the most intimate treasure of the soul.

There is no such order of symbols outside of the Roman Communion. Even if High Church ideals of faith were perfected, it would require a long time before the sentiment of sacredness would attach itself to the interrelated episcopate throughout the world. Therefore, on passing from the Roman to the Anglican Communion, one immediately feels there has been a transition from an appeal to common *intuitions* of the people, to an appeal to the *understanding* of the well-read. The Anglican Communion is learnedly

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like the Church of the Age of the Fathers. The Church here seems like a great teaching university, learnedly reverting to the classical days of the model Church of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory. Popular intuition, however, cannot bridge over ten centuries and more. For this a select educated class is required. Every High Church parish in Colorado, in consequence, has its Guilds for spiritual instruction and devotion. The rector is as a "professor" at this "spiritual university" as well as priest and pastor of his flock. But this learned appreciation of the Church's claims abroad necessarily takes time for its advance.

A Ritualistic parish is even more of a learned reconstruction of the Catholicity of past generations and of Communions without the Anglican fold, than a High Church parish is. Such reconstruction through a learning which outruns popular knowledge, attains to those sensational developments which English Low Churchmen call "lawlessness" and "Romanizing".

The Low Church parish is studious of a more primitive tradition than the High Church, extending back into Apostolic times, and utilizes research methods without presuming any Divine authority for late traditions. Critics say that this reconstructive process is a selective process, in which vital implications are lost to view.

While I believe that the Holy Ghost is equally at work in this "spiritual university" of the Anglican, as in the Roman Communion, I admit that the gulf between the visual and learned renderings of the Historic Church is difficult to cross over. The transition from Anglican to Roman is comparatively speaking easy.

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The appeal of the visual is to the entire human race. The Ritualists' self-imposed burden of storing the sum of Catholic tradition as an act of personal responsibility is a difficult one. The strain and pressure of it often make men long to pass from anxious studentship to simple obedience to an authority which has its stamps and seals. But the transition back from such *visual* religion to *learned* religion, the transition from Roman to Anglican ideals is almost impossible except for those who have been trained in the beginning as Anglicans and who return later on after an interval spent under obedience to the Holy See. I do not refer to cases of the loss of faith in the Visible Church, followed by conversion to Evangelical religion. Such cases are rare, though some of the former French Modernist clergy seem to have made such a genuine transition. But to believe in the Visible Church, and undergo the process of learned reconstruction, implies an intervening period during which the individual would find it difficult to believe in the Christian Church at all.

I acknowledge, then, that without my belief in the Holy Ghost reigning in a supplementary dispensation through Faith, and purporting an objective Unity in the Church of the Future, the transition from Rome to the Anglican Communion would have been just as difficult for me as it is to others trained in Roman visual methods. It was necessary to discover a visual objective of faith. This required some clear conception of a Catholic Church of the Spirit, which should be the counterpart to Rome, and also give a real assurance that any future treating with Rome should be entered upon on equal terms.

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At least I was not acting at cross-purposes with the public polity of the Episcopal Church in wishing to discover a parallel to that visual unity, successfully achieved by Rome, among Church folk who testified to their desire for Reunion in all their Church polity. A large section of Bishop Olmsted's address in the Council of 1903 related to Reunion. Ritualism itself was, above all else, a levelling-up movement, with Reunion as its objective. The movement towards Evangelical solidarity which began to fructify later, in November, 1905, had my hearty sympathies. Yet none of these movements, when analysed, fulfilled the test of the visual appeal for which I sought.

There was one other thought which is absent from the minds of the Reformed World and is largely misconceived within the Roman Communion. Rome ever insisted on identifying salvation with "unification". Objectors said that the placing of the condition "unity with Rome," that is obedience to Rome, as necessary to salvation was diametrically opposed to the Gospel's message of salvation by faith in Christ. Yet in the idea of *salvation into unity* there lay concealed, as I have said, a suggestion of profound significance. Assuming that the Anglican Communion has been reshaped, with accurate learning, on the model of the Church of the Fathers, can anyone rest secure in belonging to an isolated organization, however noble and perfect? True, there are few to-day who glory in the isolation of the Anglican Communion. Most of its members are reunionists of one type or another. But no one outside of Rome goes as far as to say that unity and salvation are two aspects of one and the same reality.

There seemed to me grave reasons for supposing

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that visible unity was related with salvation as closely as morality is related to inner holiness. No one can claim to lead a holy life whose conduct does not correspond with Christian standards. The public promotion of visible unity is just such a test of the presence of the grace of salvation within any Communion of the Church. Invisible unity is as absurd a chimera as holiness without morality. There is no assurance of any unity in the hereafter following upon schism here below, any more than there is an assurance of salvation for evil doers on the chance of a hypothetical repentance after bodily death. To be saved, one must be unified, in effort at least, if not in final achievement. In believing so the question was raised of how I ought to fulfil this private and universal obligation of promoting unity to the best of my ability. The course of events was destined, to some extent, to give its own reply, as I shall have occasion to show.

Imperative Private Duty.

During the summer of 1903 my headquarters were at the rectory of the English Canon who was now in charge of the parish of Holy Trinity. On weekdays I worked at the Cathedral Library; on Sundays I filled temporary vacancies in Denver and the neighbouring towns.

My visits to a dozen or more parishes and missions in the neighbourhood brought me a wider knowledge of the Church in its missionary aspect. The most interesting work was at the Church of the Holy Redeemer, where "Father" Cartier worked among the coloured folk.

Father Cartier was a native of Martinique, and an

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able and intelligent priest of the American Church. He had been trained at Saint Sulpice and ordained deacon by a Roman bishop. On entering America a bishop of the Anglican Communion had asked him to carry out within the American Church the work for which he had been prepared by Roman training. To this he agreed, and after ordination by an American bishop, Father Cartier was sent to minister to the Denver parish of the Holy Redeemer. This parish was accordingly indistinguishable from a Roman parish except in its use of the English language. The Latin canon of the Mass was said as a private devotion within the Prayer Book Liturgy. This was the only case I have ever met of a Roman who had entered the Anglican obedience without any conscious alteration of his religious attitude. Father Cartier was a man of manifest good faith, and was oppressed by none of that nervous anxiety which so sharply sets apart a Ritualistic Catholic from a Roman Catholic. The congregation here was gathered from a most respectable class of coloured folk. The precentor was an English Ritualist who held a position of credit in a Denver Bank. Other Denver Ritualists were glad to attend services of so unimpeachably Catholic a type.

The incident revealed that the American Church gave a qualified official assent to the truthfulness of a religion that was indistinguishable from the Roman, except that, here, obedience to the Papacy was not made a condition of salvation. For if Roman religion was diametrically contrary to the Revealed Truth of God, the official sanction given to such Catholicism, whether for coloured folk or any other folk, would be a deliberate abjuration of Christianity.

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A great principle was here in evidence—the principle of unification through a presumption of the truth of what was not excluded, rather than a presumption of the error of all that was not included. Every Roman Catholic in the world derives his faith not from the Scriptures and the Fathers, but from the visual and palpable evidence of the living coherence of his Church. Roman polemics assume the living Roman Church and treat the Gospel and the Fathers as mere Roman titles and documents. The Roman ideal of unity is reached by assuming a contradiction of the Divine Verity in every interpretation of the Gospel and Church History which does not concur with the visual appeal of the living Roman Church.

Another principle of unification than that of Rome, more congruous, at least, with thoughts of a supplementary dispensation of the Holy Spirit, would be that every one should adhere to that Communion which both freed his private conscience, giving an assurance of Divine salvation, and also assumed the presence of the comforting Spirit of God within other as yet ununited systems of faith and worship. That is, although every Christian sees at least an appearance of error in each form of Christianity other than his own, he should believe that the corrective and vivifying efficacy of the Spirit is all-sufficing to purge doctrines of their errors and defects, and revive the true faith where it had been obscured. Therefore he should not anathematize every statement of doctrine that he does not himself directly accept.

Hence a step towards unification might be taken by accustoming the devout believers of every denomination to assume the truth of the faith of Christian Com-

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munions other than their own in the assurance that the Spirit being present, His wisdom and His corrective efficacy and His fructifying power are competent to make good the defects in every Christian's faith.

The Presbyterians were then amending their Westminster Confession by omitting its anathema against the Pope, and the clause alluding to the damnation of unbaptized infants. A Catholic bishop had commented that they were reapproaching the Catholic Faith. Moreover, the "Short Statement," appended in the same year to the Westminster Confession, officially defined and interpreted the Westminster Confession in an anti-fatalistic Evangelical sense.

These are a few out of many instances of the workings of an universal movement. A *rapprochement* was to be expected among Evangelical Christians, paving the way towards Evangelical solidarity. The "Short Statement" was thus a kind of Presbyterian *definitio de fide* interpreting particular dogmas in conformity with the central Evangelical tradition. In the reign of the Spirit one might assuredly expect that Divine Faith would again be gathered up within simple creeds, such as those which the Apostles first proclaimed to the Gentiles.

If, then, faith is an instrument of that supplementary agency through which the Holy Ghost chooses to make good the defects of the Christian Communions, there is also a necessary human condition to the Divine efficiency of faith. Faith must be fundamentally, not incidentally, directed towards visible unification. In this sense, the Roman teaching that unification is salvation is true. There is a dispensation of the Holy

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Ghost through faith outside of Rome. But this ensures salvation to the members neither of an Apostolic Communion nor of any Communion which does not aim at visible unity as of equal consequence with salvation itself; or as an essential aspect of Divine salvation.

Therefore it follows that the test of the true faith unto salvation is the existence of faith unto unification. Faith supplies every defect of every Christian Communion, *except the fundamental defect of resting content in isolation, discord, disunion, and schism.* But if that truth be acknowledged, faith plainly has its own method of unification apart from legal association with Rome. Arguing from analogy, it would be safe to hold that by the fructifying power of faith every method of seeking union is a true method, provided that the quest itself be paramount. Every Christian who seeks union exactly as he seeks for salvation; every Christian who considers visible union as necessary as the repentance which saves the soul, is a true Catholic Christian. Belief itself, thus, rightly conditioned, is a quest for unity just as it is a quest for salvation of the individual soul. Reunion after disunion is thus a kind of repentance, an aspect of the one repentance, unto life eternal. Salvation is salvation unto union—salvation against disunion. There is no salvation unto God without a submission to faith and a striving after unity.

About this time I made the acquaintance of the precentor at the Church of the Holy Redeemer, mentioned above. Noting that I had helped in, and agreed with, Father Cartier's Ritualistic services, he expected me to become an apostle of Ritualistic Catholicism in Denver. The Ritualist holds to the principle,

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which undoubtedly has the sanction of every Catholic reform movement, that the priest should be kept to a higher standard of canonical priestliness, that the bishop should conform to the high standard of apostolic zeal and practice, and to the authority of Catholic tradition, and that the Christian people should diligently study their Christian duties and strengthen their observance by aid of Catholic practices. There is an important moral doctrine at the heart of the Ritualistic Revival. The Ritualist teaches that every Churchman must conform to Catholic standards, and hence that all Protestantism was not merely "doctrinal error" but also "moral iniquity," a denial of the Christian's Baptismal Covenant. As I have explained, I was unacquainted with any canonical principle requiring, as of obligation, the private resumption of customs which had fallen into a desuetude, countenanced by one's superiors. But the Ritualist was right in asserting that there was an imperative obligation upon every Christian to study self-reform and to conform his own religious reformation with the general purpose of the fraternal unity of all Christian people.

Thus the problem of Christian Reunion assumed for me a new importance. The question arose: How could I, personally, fulfil such an obligation?

My identification of salvation with unification led me, at least, to try and understand how faith in divine salvation might grow so inseparable from the opening of the mind and heart towards unity that unity would follow in the necessary course of events.

The subject has only a very limited right to speak in the counsels of the Church. In June, 1903, I voted, with about half the members of the Council, for the

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omission of the word "Protestant" from the official title of the American Episcopal Church, believing, in view of a more inclusive Catholicity, that the occasion for protesting was fast passing away. But if a subject might do little more in a canonical manner towards amending the authoritative standards, there yet remained the imperative private duty of seeking for devotional unity with fellow Christians in the manner enjoined by the very nature of the Christian Covenant. My work, from henceforth, was in fulfilment of this sense of obligation, which, being private, and unofficial, was what may be called "devotional". I held no official commission to undertake the enterprise; but there is always the chance that a course of private devotion may be in some way helpful to others. As against the Ritualistic method of the literal resumption of particular usages, I now attempted to express, in a simple formula, the Catholic, as against the "merely" Evangelical, note of Christianity. This Catholic note, as I have mentioned, was the public acknowledgment of the community mind and soul of the *ecclesia* as an "entity" as true and essential as the individual soul of man. Therefore, if Evangelicals could be induced, in accordance with their own principles and methods, to acknowledge a "subsistential" equality between the community soul and the individual soul, the foundations of true unity would be revealed. Granted this principle, each Communion, otherwise presumed to be perfect, might be considered technically imperfect if it did not acknowledge, or was not qualified to give acknowledgment to, this fundamental verity. There was thus revealed to view a standard or criterion of the perfect or defective Christianity of every Christian

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Communion without the Roman fold. I assumed that each Christian Communion which is a cult of Christ, ostensibly recognizing Christ as Saviour of the World, is perfect and self-contained, but on one inexhorable condition. The Holy Ghost as the corrector of error, is present in every act of faith in Christ as Saviour. Therefore, in a good conscience, I can assume that Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, Congregationalist, Baptist and Methodist, considered as subjects of such Divine correction, possess true ministrations of the grace of Christ the Saviour. The Christian religion reveals its founder as Unifier as well as Saviour. Christian salvation is virtually identical with unification. Each Communion therefore is right, only, subject to its acceptance of the fixed obligation of a continuous promotion of the cause of unity. No Communion can minister the grace of salvation unless it is devoted as well to the uniting of Christians as it is to the saving of men. Every Communion, therefore, must examine whether it has developed organs of inter-communion with all the rest. A ministry of grace, sufficient in itself if it were alone in the world, is yet incidentally defective if it be not supplemented by a ministry of unity, or if it be not itself qualified to become such a ministry.

My application of the principle "salvation is unification" thus differs from the Roman application. The dogma of obligatory conformity with Rome precludes the possibility of a dispensation of the Spirit without the Roman fold. But the essence of complete faith in the Holy Spirit lies in the refusal to set limits to His creative efficacy by any Church's decree. Yet I agree with Rome over the principle itself that salvation is

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unification, because the spirit of Christ's religion has identified salvation with fellowship within a single family of God. Therefore each Communion, in order to be an organ of salvation, must open wide its outlook towards unity. Here I respect the Ritualist because, over and above his own Synodal obligations, he is at least, in his own way, devotionally one with all that, through its unanimous acceptance by the "Historic Church," he takes to be Divine. In like manner the great Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian Communions, however perfect, must consider themselves defective until they have thought out comprehensively their task of inter-communion with all other bodies.

As soon as we add that renunciation of principle by any Christian body would amount to a practical atheism, we see how the general approach towards Unification is to be made.

We must first discover what is the simplest organ and ministry of unity that each Communion requires in order to combine on equal terms with every other Communion. Thus Presbyterian ministers might think it a betrayal of their ministry to allow that it is defective in itself through lacking Episcopal ordination, but there would be no such betrayal in the admission that this ministry is defective judged by its standard of equal power to treat with the other Communions possessing higher organs of qualification for universal union than the Presbyterians at present can lay claim to. Some modification, therefore, of the Presbyterian ministry might be accepted merely as a qualification for effecting unity. It must be remembered that qualification for dealing on equal terms with a rival is

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the supreme protection against the assertion of any unfair claims of superiority by this rival.

This is evident if the problem is reviewed on its widest outlook. Supposing that European Secularists were about to suppress the public and tangible order of European Christianity. Let us suppose also that the mutual need of self-protection required the signing of a compact of limited co-operation between Rome and Reformed Christians. Rome would be seen to possess a perfect machinery, a central and representative constitution, for dealing promptly with the problem. Its Congregations, *adjutores Papæ*, would study the canonical aspect of the treaty. The interests of Church Law, of the Uniat Communions, of Public Worship, of Teaching, the political aspect of the problem, the Missionary order of it, would each be considered by the various central Congregations of Cardinals. Nuncios would deal with the local and provincial difficulties, and the Pope, as plenipotentiary, would work through each branch of the administration. Before such a *societas perfecta*, Reformed Christians would, in the beginning, stand helpless. They would talk of the price of safeguarding against an ecclesiastical autocracy. It would then grow plain to the thoughtful that Reformed Christians could have their own capital organization, just as Roman Catholics can, without the least loss of freedom, rather with a spiritual independence they had never before possessed. The cry would be raised: Let us qualify for treating on equal terms with Rome. Delegates would be elected and sent up to some chosen point of gathering. They would form representative committees on the lines of Roman Congregations and choose a virtual "Secretary of

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State" to transact business, and a Chairman or President to act as the agent-of-law in discussions, "Ambassadors" would be appointed and the equivalent to a *curia* formed. Then, for the first time in its history, the Reformed Christians could treat on an equal footing with Rome. A compact, or Concordat, in self-protection, might thus be concluded, by which Christianity would organize and protect itself effectively against a common enemy.

Union with Rome is outside my sphere of discussion. But my suggested preparations for entering upon a *modus vivendi* are an illustration of the real nature of the problem of Home Reunion. In order to think of unity, you must first think of a receptacle in which to lodge this unity. The Reform must have its own equivalent to the Vatican, its *mons sacer* of inter-connexions, for the fashioning of an instrument of its "assembled independence". But if ever the delegates should have come to this "capital" of the Reformed Christendom, then the problem would arise of how to empower each Communion to deal with each other Communion on the basis of equality. A complete grade of qualifications and defective qualifications would soon reveal itself. In outlining these ideas I always assumed that each particular Communion was as true, and as devout, and as filled with the Spirit as every other Communion. Thus, in the year 1903, I had the pleasure of meeting the Methodist bishop, in the Episcopalian bishop's house in Denver, and I assumed that the supplementary presence of the Holy Ghost in each such "acting bishop," made him an efficient minister of grace to his particular Communion. But for qualification to act on an equality with other communions,

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Bishop Olmsted was *qualified* to deal with every Communion throughout the world which either recognizes his Orders, or with those who required no Apostolic Orders. The bishop had been invited to take part with a Greek Orthodox archimandrite in a Greek service in Denver and had accepted the invitation. In like manner, I had been asked, later, to attend in the chancel during a Russian service in New York. To the Greek and Russian Orthodox, Episcopalian Orders, are possibly valid. It appears, at all events, that they are assumed to be valid. The Russian priest did not know that I had been ordained in the Roman Communion. But if the Russian Orthodox had still their doubts about Anglican Orders, as appeared in their re-ordination of an Episcopalian priest dismissed from the Episcopalian Communion in 1903, the "defective qualification" could be instantly rectified by the production of a baptismal certificate and co-consecration by a Russian Orthodox bishop at the next American consecration.

In like manner the Methodist bishop, without the least reflection on the validity of his ministry for Methodists, might be "qualified for universality" by accepting consecration from the co-consecrated American bishop, entitling him to universal recognition amid all the Historic Churches of East and West.

This is not suggested as a practical proposal, but as an illustration of one conceivable means for standardizing the status of the Communions. Conventions for discussion of the qualifications for entering upon an equal union would be one of the steps towards unification.

Organization has been discussed first and doctrine

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left till afterwards. Doctrine, of course, is a supreme consideration in the reunion problem. Whoever thinks of barter in matters of doctrine, has plainly no living faith in the doctrine he is willing to clip and trim. One must reassure Communions which are intransigent about alterations of their own creeds. But obstacles to reunion, presented by doctrine, are, I dare to suggest, far less than the obstacles to reunion presented by rival organizations. In a sense, I have shown how the acceptance of the dogma of the corporate soul would be, in principle, an act of real doctrinal *rapprochement* of the entire Christian body. The possibility of barter, then, being an insult to the genuine believers of every Christian Communion, the key to doctrinal assimilation may possibly be sought for in some public acknowledgment of the substantive equality of the corporate with the individual soul.

The aim of a union of organizations, reaching thus beyond mere co-operation over practical purposes, would include within its scope the cause of agreement in faith, aspiration, and prayer, culminating in an acknowledgment of the mystery of the Church Corporate. The General Assembly of the Communions might own its fully qualified cathedral or basilica. Around this centre of worship a metropolis, or Christian Sion, might in time be built to aid the purposes of the Union Church. This one capital Church might be taken as a central embodiment of the universal Church, and be dedicated to that Mystery of Redemption in which souls are really unified. Those who gathered here from each Communion might add to the words of their own official Creed the supplementary formula: "I believe in a Visible Unity by the Holy Ghost".

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In the chosen place of resort, representatives of all the Communions would have their appointed committees with a general council hall. In the council hall various joint-committees might work for the promotion of re-union and manage the affairs of the Union Church. Various types of services would be conceded on different days to the various Communions. Where worship required special architectural fixtures, separate churches might be built under the control of the central extra-territorial authorities. Since the representatives, delegates, and committee-men of the Union Church would be enthusiasts, they would at least thus form one model union church and parish for an example to others. Each Communion in adding to its *Symbolum Fidei* the words, "I believe in a Visible Unity by the Holy Ghost," would add to its own creed an implicit recognition of every truth that perchance it had not acknowledged within this *Symbolum Fidei.* Christianity would thus become one through a central capital. Through this central agency, organizations would come into contact with one another, the faith of each would become inclusive, and devotion, piety, worship, would be combined in a model order. In the course of time a measure of unification would descend from the *Urbs* to the *Orbis*, since the various Reunion Committees would work constantly to attain this end.

These ideas had shaped themselves in my mind before the end of the summer of 1903. I put them down in writing in a most inadequate manner, for publication in a pamphlet entitled "Papers on a Federal Christendom" (No. 1). In October I left for New England with the edition in hand.

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New England and New York.

The proceeds of work during the summer of 1903 would have enabled me to return to England, but the fascination of the religious problem in New England kept me for three months in Springfield, Massachusetts. From thence I visited Boston twice, and also Worcester. Since my residence was but temporary I remained unattached to any diocese and undertook no clerical work.

New England is the shrine of American religious Modernism. Now New England, with its unrestricted freedom of thought, was reverting to the older orthodoxies as assertions of the Eternal Verity, the evidences of which but grew the stronger through the operation of wider thought and more searching criticism.

From the viewpoint of the American Episcopal Church, New England presented problems that were difficult even to formulate, much more to answer.

One cannot use the title "The Church of America" here or elsewhere without some qualifying term expressive of the canonical claims under which this title might be affirmed. I had lived in places where people of English descent were non-existent. A National Church like the Church of England might reasonably become a Church of the Anglo-Saxon race. But the America that I knew had very slight contact with the Anglo-Saxon race. In New England, where there was a predominating influence of English descent, the old local Church was less Anglican in any sense of the words than the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland. There were, moreover, about as many Roman Catholics in New England in 1903 as there were Anglo-American Churchmen

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in the whole of the United States. Every other race had at least as much canonical right to bring in its Church organization and call it the Church of America, as the Church of a branch of the Anglo-Saxon people had. Nor could priority of mission be asserted. Much of the territory I had visited could be claimed by the French and Spanish Missions of the Church of Rome.

The vital problem, then, for each Communion was not how to claim the headship but how to qualify for equal representation in an American religious metropolis. I knew that if believers in Christ freely came together they could no more form a "United Communions of the Church" without the gift of the Holy Ghost than the Apostles who came together at Pentecost could have founded the original Church of Christ without that gift.

Yet it was reasonable to take human gatherings and Conferences, like that to which I was invited at Ithaca in the autumn of 1903, as being themselves a continuation of the prayer of the apostles of the modern Christian Communions for the gift of Unity.

The fact that every one was taken up with the thought of federation was a pledge that a movement, supplementary to that of the revival of the orthodox Christian view of the transcendence of the Divine Atonement, was under way.

A problem of even greater significance than the internal movements of Christian bodies now came to the front. One of the pioneers of Evangelical Federation, Dr. Josiah Strong, had temporarily suspended his Reunion Apostolate because he believed that the key to Reunion lay in Christian co-operation in the upholding of Christian standards of business and in facing social

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problems. But the Church could not fulfil its mission of social salvation without an adequate knowledge of the social conditions and needs of that vast population which was gathering to form the New America from every European country. The key then to the Catholic Message of the future lay in accurate information about the viewpoint of ordinary people not especially associated with the Christian Church.

Of this viewpoint I endeavoured to discover something during the fourteen months I spent in New York and the vicinity from January, 1904. Those were full of adventure, but are only referred to here to account for my return to England in April, 1905, in temporary disassociation from clerical obedience of any kind. I had gone through two winters, earning in secular work anything from the equivalent of one shilling to twelve shillings a day. At the end of the time I had put by $87, but on returning to my friends in England I needed several months of rest before considering the problem of clerical subscription in England.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

ROYAL SUPREMACY AND THE XXXIX ARTICLES.

AS soon as I recovered I began to devote my energies to the comparative study of the position of the Church of England. The additional forms of subscription to be signed by the clergy who pass from the American Church to the Church of England are not arbitrarily imposed by bishops, but are clearly defined in the Colonial Clergy Act of 1874. I had to examine whether accepting such forms would disagree with my belief in a certain manner of Church Revival and Church Reunion in the Holy Ghost.

The Episcopal Church of America claims less to be the *exclusive* Historic Church of America than the *model* Historic Church in America. The Church of England claims to be the exclusive territorial Church in England, so that non-Anglicans were once legally Nonconformists and are now classed as Dissenters. In New England, Anglicans themselves were legal Nonconformists once. Now, no one in America can be either a Nonconformist or a Dissenter, even if they wished to be so. There is no legal Conformity to conform to, since there is no National Church.

By the fact that members of the Anglican Commun-

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ion in America are acknowledged as enjoying full communion with the Church of England, it follows that the additional points subscribed to by Episcopalian clergy who accept cures in the Church of England are not essential points. Otherwise full intercommunion could not exist, and American bishops could not vote at Lambeth Synods. The additional subscription required from American clergy is therefore a local and national test that must have been required for reasons exclusively associated with the history of the Church within England itself. One is asked thus to give assent to the public course of action of the Church of England as memorialized especially in the terms of the Subscription Oath. Subscription for American Clergy means assent to those public acts of the past, results of which are perpetuated in the Royal Supremacy, the State Establishment, and the Test Oath to the XXXIX Articles, of the Ecclesiastical Law of the present.

The various problems presented could, I thought, be gathered up into one chief problem. Had the Church of England by its acceptance of Royal Supremacy and the State Establishment, together with its XXXIX Articles, destroyed its qualification to take a leading part in bringing about a united band of Christian Communions? I have already conceded that mere defects of faith and organization could be remedied by the supplementary office of the Holy Ghost in the Church. It was of course appropriate that I should work where these defects were reduced to an absolute minimum. The most devoted Anglican admits that the Church of England which once had its "mission" from all the Apostolic Churches has now no acknowledged "mission" from any Church except those which are

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within the Anglican Communion itself. Thus the Greek Orthodox Church does not yet officially recognize that the Church of England is the living Apostolic Church in England. Much less does the Latin Church admit that to the Church of England belongs the Apostolic Mission to the English people. Such "defects" are not, I believe, invalidatory defects, and are covered by the supplementary dispensation of the Holy Ghost.

Another class of "defect" would be the replacing of the ecclesiastical authority by merely secular authority. If a secular Parliament became the substitute for the Conciliar authority of the Church of England, then that Church would be no more a spiritual body than is the Home Office. If it were the creation of the State, it would be no more a living Church than the Great Western Railway is. I am convinced that the apologists of the Church of England can absolutely refute this allegation.

For a long time the Church was bound in legal chains to the State, and is in part still so bound. But the occasion for the placing of those bonds must be considered in relation to the ecclesiastical model after which the Church of England was reformed. When the Papal Jurisdiction, that extended over England in Queen Mary's reign, was rejected by Queen Elizabeth, Royal Authority secured a continuous succession of bishops and undertook the protectorate of the Church. Tudor statesmen were consummate legalists. They chose a definite line of Church polity agreeable with what they believed to be an Apostolic model, and they directed the Church to concur. The Church had concurred with Queen Mary's directions. The Church

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now concurred with Elizabeth's. If Mary Tudor ordered a Papal polity to be enforced, that order did not destroy the validity of the Papal ecclesiastical administrative acts of her reign. If Elizabeth ordered a National Episcopate to assert its autonomous authority, that order in itself did not destroy the reality of English Episcopal rule. If the monarchy had ever ordered the breaking up of episcopal government, and the Church had synodically assented, it would thereupon have ceased to exist in England. If the Episcopate had ceased to practise episcopal ordinations, and had sanctioned its own supersession by a presbyterate, in defiance of the Monarchy, it again would have thereby terminated its existence. Royal Supremacy is thus a royal protectorate which has often proved a peril to Church independence. But it has never yet destroyed the real essentials of that independence. But if the National Church of England were destined to continue, then this "monarchic peril" was inherently a less danger to the Church than its absence would be. The royal protectorate of the Church was indispensable to the continuance of the autonomous National Church. Two perils, Rome and Geneva, both threatening extinction, were kept at bay by aid of a protectorate that only threatened danger, and has proved to be not unto death. Therefore the Church of England has retained a perfect qualification to be as complete an instrument of the Holy Ghost as any other Church in which the spiritual sovereignty is resident in an historic episcopate.

Coming to the later period of Parliamentary Supremacy a fair test whether the Church of England is a State created, or a State protected Church, is in the

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working of Ecclesiastical Appeals. The legal Supreme Court of Spiritual Causes in the Church of England is the State created Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This Court interpreted the Ornaments Rubric in the Ridsdale case according to usage, and not according to the literal sense of the words that prescribe the Edwardian vestments. But this decree evidently possessed as little *power* as it possessed ecclesiastical *authority*. The Court is as physically impotent to enforce its interpretation in the Church of England as is the French Conseil d'État to interpret English law. The Judicial Committee is spiritually impotent because the Church of England never gave it authority to judge. So long as that is so the appellate authority in spiritual causes in the Church of England remains latent in the Church's inherent authority to act Synodically and appoint a Spiritual Court of Appeal. The State exercises a vast influence in patronage, in granting Letters of Business, and in asserting its claim to confirm the decrees of Convocation. But the Church of England is so constituted that this protective power could be dropped at once. The Church would then gain an independence such as the Church in America enjoys. It would then possess a perfect Synodal authority which it now possesses only potentially.

In the summer of 1905 I fully assented to the temporary State protectorship of the Church of England including the so-called "Royal Supremacy" and the Parliamentary Establishment, because these institutions had cut off the Church of England from absorption in Rome. Unity with a Rome which was not a canonically Liberal Rome, would have killed my supreme hope. State protectorship had suppressed this lesser unity

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of mere absorption, but it had left the road open towards the greater unity. Salvation might be unification. But the unification worthy to be the condition of salvation must be worthy of the Supreme Spirit from whom the dual gift alone can flow. Unification with Rome meant rejecting the omnipotence of the Spirit in fulfilling Himself within the Reform as well as within Rome. But such a disabled Power was no true and all-wise Holy Ghost to me. With such thoughts in my mind I at length consented to accept the Establishment and Royal Supremacy, as temporary human expedients leading up towards a future Reign of the Spirit of God in a freely gathered Union blessed by the Holy Ghost.

There remained the subscription to the XXXIX Articles. It was as unlikely to find a perfect agreement on their interpretation as to expect that Protestants were miraculously unanimous in interpreting the Bible. Where an old legal document is variously interpreted, that construction may be taken to be valid which is conceded by the sovereign arbiters of the society of whose statutory law the document is a part. The sovereign arbiter in my case was the bishop in whose diocese I discussed the question of Subscription. I brought to his Lordship the account of the XXXIX Articles written by Dr. H. R. Percival, the American High Church Divine of the school of Bishop Forbes. This exposition closely responds to the High Church interpretation of the Articles which has been in vogue since Tract 90 was issued. The bishop whom I consulted was himself a High Churchman and conceded that this interpretation was scholarly and sound. I willingly subscribed to a document allowed by this

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authoritative test to be in fundamental agreement with every Catholic Verity in which East and West are at one. The Articles of course are not the official Creed of the Church of England. The official *credenda* are the Scriptures and the Prayer Book with its Catholic Creeds, with the Church of the Fathers as a standard of interpretation. The Articles are a test document subscribed to by the clergy only, whereby the historical Anglican rendering of the Scriptures and Church traditions were protected against the various polemical attacks of its historic assailants.

Faith and Worship in the Church of England.

The study of the conditions of religion in English parishes conforming to the Church of England was accompanied with the more interesting study of the faith and religious worship of Anglican congregations.

For me there have ever been two fundamental assumptions without which the Christian message can have no meaning. Christianity implies equally the soul of man and the soul of mankind. All Primitive Christianity is equally a religion of individual salvation and a religion of self-immersion in the *ecclesia*. The more definite Sacramentalism of later periods of Church History came about in answer to the need of protecting that self-immersion in the Body Mystical through which alone the Church can assert the existence of the soul of humanity redeemed in Christ. Protestantism asserted the supremacy of private salvation, but in breaking with Catholic Unity and with phases of Catholic Sacramentalism, it lost much of the secret

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of that supreme self-effacement which shone so eminently in the religion of St. Paul and of his Gentile converts.

Those who broke from Papal Obedience may have been justified in rejecting the Papal Symbol of Unity, because human capacity could not discover in Papal authority a token of the wider consciousness of human redemption in Christ. Whether the Papacy of the Reformation Era was in the right or not it was certain that Rome was forcing the Christian world into self-consciousness. The only clear ground for accepting the Papacy, which was the Scriptural assumption that Christians should live in a community of soul, was thus swept away from under men's feet. The dealings of the Papacy with Germany had forced the prospective Protestants into self-consciousness. All that Protestants did was to assert this forced self-consciousness in this or that manner of their own devising.

Thus though the Reformation was perhaps inevitable, I do not believe that any Protestants of the sixteenth century really reverted to Primitive Christianity. Protestant self-assertion is opposed to the self-effacement of Primitive Christians. Therefore I assert that the final justification of the Reformation can only be shown when the Reformed Communions have reached the wider self-dedication of the first Christians. The Anglo-Catholic Revival within the Church of England is very plainly an instinctive movement in this direction. In many English parishes it has largely attained its end.

I was obliged from my principles, and from my religious training, to regard the whole Anglo-Catholic Movement as an act of voluntary and devotional assimilation to Catholic standards. So far it corre-

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sponded with the type of devotional revival that I expected to find in different phases of existence throughout every branch of Christendom which had accepted the Reformation. Ritualists might repent of the Reformation "in sackcloth and ashes," but they indubitably were themselves of the progeny of this Reform.

When I was privileged therefore to share in the worship of a devout congregation, in a church at Notting Hill, the assimilation here of faith and worship to that of Rome, while realizing my ideal of devotion and sacramental adoration, yet seemed to me to be radically different from any movement towards mere inclusion within Rome.

I heartily agreed, then, with such a Ritualistic Catholicism in its solemn devotional manner of acknowledging the living Body Mystical. I believed that by the faith of the congregation and the latent powers in the representative ministry, the soul of the Church, which is to me as concrete an entity as the soul of man, extended into these congregations. Through the presence of this soul of the Church I believed that the Real Presence was objectively brought upon this altar.

The Eucharist, offered up with the manifest priestly intention of the officiant, was, through the same soul of the Church, in mystical contact with Calvary. As a priest in Roman Orders I felt that this Eucharist was identical in intention with that of Catholics everywhere. The officiant's intention was identical with my own, and even from the Roman viewpoint, granted there is one validly ordained priest within the Anglican Communion who has the priestly intention, every Eucharist offered up at such a church as that at Notting Hill, was as

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much assured of valid consecration as was that of the Oratory, or of St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater.

I thus reached a substantial agreement with the Anglican Catholic clergy, even though they may approach the subject in another fashion. I also agreed that once it had become the custom, the *consuetudo ecclesiastica*, to offer up the Holy Eucharist so, the existing authorities of the Church, having allowed this custom, could never rightfully prevent its continuance. Permission, even tacit permission, for so grave a matter, is inherently irreversible. Even the Papacy in the plenitude of its power has never claimed the right to suppress or abolish any Catholic custom of vital importance, only to suspend or temporarily interdict or regulate it. My friend the late Dr. St. George Mivart used to say that when the Church of England reputedly "abolished the Mass" it constituted itself a new assembly opposed to the Catholic Church. Most Roman Catholics to-day assert the same thing. But from my point of view, granted the Anglican Ordinal and its doctrinal significance, the Church of England did not and could not "abolish the Mass". In the Episcopal resettlement under Elizabeth, the Church of England may have put the fully intentioned Consecration under a suspension or interdict: so much it was competent to do. But the moment that this interdict was tacitly withdrawn the full powers of Consecration *ad mentem ecclesiæ* reverted to the officiating clergy. Anglican formulas are not greater than the Church which interprets them. A Catholic interpretation had been sanctioned irreversibly when Ritualists were not expelled from the Church. The Mass may not have come back; but a Eucharistic Sacrifice, which is identical in all but

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incidental refinements, has assuredly come back to stay.

The modern Church of England is thus an ecclesiastical organization whose supreme feature may be called Parochial Local Option in its worship and its devotional teaching. The one important grievance of Church of England Protestants is that Ritualists of the same Communion not only teach as a theological opinion that the Catholic interpretation of Anglican formulas is the exclusively right interpretation, but seem to proclaim judicially that the Church officially binds all its members to submit to Ritualistic theology and usage. To anyone trained in Roman methods, the re-promulgation of ordinances which have fallen into desuetude is not within the competence of private theologians to effect, but exclusively appertains to the sovereign authorities of the whole organization as a unit.

This Sacramental teaching, however true it is, is inherently inapplicable unless many conditions have first been realized. Roman Catholic theologians, for instance, would be likely to say that it was wrong to teach priestly Sacramentalism at all in the Church of England. According to their view Anglican clergy have no priestly power, Evangelical clergy no priestly intention. But Anglicans who believe in the priestly power of their clergy cannot compel the Evangelical clergy to officiate according to a manner and intention in which they disbelieve. Sacerdotalist teaching is thus inapplicable in any English parish, until the practice of full Sacramental intention has been reinstituted. Ritualism and Evangelicalism are not so much different types of teaching as different types of devotional practice, each of which are optional in every English parish. It

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would be wrong to consecrate with full Sacramental intention and teach people not to revere the Sacred Elements. It would be equally wrong to consecrate with the intention customary to Evangelicals and teach the use of the Sacramental manner of worship. Thus there is a clear distinction between optional devotions, contingent on voluntary intention, and the universally binding dogmas of the Christian Faith.

It seems certain, therefore, that Protestant grievances with regard to the dictatorial methods of Anglican Sacerdotalists are not grievances against Catholic Ideals, but against relics of Tudor absolutism. Once these have disappeared from the Church of England, the question of Canonical Authority could easily be solved. It is a mere truism that there are two sides to authority in Church affairs. The Apostles came with Christ's commission, but their authority was not set up until disciples throughout the world, in the act of becoming converted, gave that assent to authority without which it is as a king without a kingdom. The Roman Pontiff claims to rule with Christ's own commission. This commission was officially declared in 1870 not to have been derived *ex consensu ecclesiæ*, from the assent of the Church. Yet the Pope would manifestly possess no actual power without the consent of the Church through the Baptismal Vows of its members. Every Roman layman is trained in youth to give his unqualified assent to Papal authority, and the Papacy has actual authority as though by a kind of perpetual *plébiscite* of all Roman Catholics. The refusal of this consent at the Council of Constance deprived the Pope of all semblance of actual power, and Pope and anti-popes were all obliged to resign.

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In like manner under an Episcopal organization the Church of England, through its Episcopate, has a genuine commission from Christ to exercise authority in England. But this authority can only become an actual and living authority subject to canonical limitations, which oblige it to conform to the expression of the mind of the Church as promulgated in its Synods and the living co-operation of the subjects of the Episcopate. Authority is thus leadership, not dictatorship. If it is built up upon this representative teachership of the Church and commands no one whom it has not persuaded, there is no reason why authority in the Church of England should not be as effective as it is in the Church of Rome, provided that the Church of England, like the Church of Rome, discovers that the right to be converted before being commanded is as truly democratic and popular a right as the political right of the people to make their own laws and govern themselves.

Having made up my mind that the Catholic practices of solemn Ritualistic worship at the Eucharist might be lawfully observed without any usurpation of authority, the door was open to conformity in faith and practice. I would support Catholic worship wherever it was carried out with a truly converted congregation. I could not support its use with an unconverted congregation. I was yet heartily at one with devout forms of worship of every type within the Anglican Communion. For I believed that faith and devotion were the instruments through which the Holy Ghost made good what seemed defects.

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An English Parish and its Lessons.

The present conflict of ideals within the Church of England is of less consequence to me than the fact that, in many instances, a Revival based upon a deeper sense of devotional fellowship with the Church Catholic of all times and places, has become a real influence amid the lives of the people. A single instance of genuine devotional affinity between an English parish and authoritative Catholicism would vindicate the Church of England as a field for that inclusive Revival through which it may be hoped that the Spirit of God will reunite the Christian world. Such a fellowship of devotion must assuredly precede the fellowship of canonical relationship. Yet I truly believe that Home Reunion will be brought about many years before any understanding can be reached between the Anglican Communion and the Church of Rome. Rome could not acknowledge Canterbury without renouncing its own claims and revolutionizing its doctrine, its practice, and its own constitution. The English Catholic Revival is, therefore, rather an incitement to all non-Roman Christians to emulate one another in prayer for the grace of Revival and co-operation at home than an augury for premature corporate Reunion with the Roman See.

The Protestant outcry against the introduction of Catholic ritual within the Church of England cannot justly be raised where the true Catholic practice is carried out, that is, where Catholic ritual—itself contingent for its significance on the Sacramental intention of the minister—is also preceded by a conversion of the congregation to the faith to which such ritual is subservient.

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Having subscribed to the Church of England, I became associated, as curate, with a parish where the entire congregation had yielded their unquestioning adherence to the Catholic ideal; and as no Catholic ritual had been forced upon an unconverted congregation, Protestants had no grievances and Catholic usage had been complied with.

This parish was situated in a slum area of a great city. It was administered virtually on the voluntary system of contributions by members of the congregation and friends—a proof that the Church of England was perfectly able to live in dependence only on its Apostolic Commission.

The Church held about 600 people and was filled with worshippers at every Choral Eucharist, at Morning Prayer, and at Evensong on Sundays. There were two celebrations every week-day and numerous guild meetings throughout the week. The congregation came from every part of the city. The parochial area consisted of a few streets and about two dozen small "courts," commonly called slums. The religion of the congregation was like what I imagined that of an Apostolic Church to have been. Each point of Catholic faith and practice was asserted with a militant emphasis in perpetual defiance of existing secularity. A vital enthusiasm burned for points like the Real Presence, and the Sacrificial meaning of the Eucharist, as though these doctrines had been carried through to the congregation directly by apostles who had known Christ in Judea. The Church was as the crystal through which men saw the living Christ. The pastor's words were as mere refrains from the first proclaiming of the news of salvation. In Rome, the Church assumes

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responsibility, delivered through official documents, signed and sealed, and officially interpreted and defined. Here, every one felt the private and personal responsibility for being comprehensively Catholic. The entire Catholic Church was, so to speak, carried within each mind and heart and was incarnate in each living member.

That no Church Synod enforced all this teaching and practice was evident from the fact that, in neighbouring parishes, Low Church views and practice were proclaimed with equal freedom and absence of restraint.

The members of the congregation were devout Christian Socialists, and, through acts of personal service, carried out a well-devised scheme of temporal works of mercy. There was one district visitor to each of the larger slums, and one to two of the smaller ones. Aid was given twice a week to those who were sick or who were temporarily out of work. When no chance of work was forthcoming, the bestowal of this transient aid ceased and the individual or family were referred to other agencies.

I had spiritual charge of a dozen "courts" in this slum area. In most of these the families were vaguely related to the Church of England. In several, Jews predominated. There were also Roman Catholic families. There were no Dissenters. Indifferent Roman Catholics were often aroused and sent to their own priest. The clergy were wont to call to their aid some students, and went round the "courts" with torches in procession. Open-air addresses were delivered, and the people were gathered into the church to join in prayers and hymns, and listen to a parting address.

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The schools were the one bright spot, besides the church, in the centre of the environing squalor. They offered the one serious hope of betterment, spiritual and temporal, amid the slum population. The children who attended school soon learned gracious ways and imbibed the principles of Catholic faith and practice. These children were noted among all their neighbours for their good manners and intelligence.

The congregation used all their daily earnings practically as a common fund. They attended as many services as the members of a Roman religious community would do. The devout of the congregation, in fact, constituted a kind of informal religious community. I recalled a French writer's comparison of primitive Christianity with religious communities.

The congregation, too, was deeply immersed in mystical association with the Gospel and the vision of the sacred earthly presence of Christ of Galilee. They were thus truly mystical evangelicals. In my personal view the habitual association of every Catholic practice with Gospel scenes and events ensures loyalty to Church of England ideals.

Through their sense of real fraternity with the poor, their voluntaryism, their mystical evangelicalism, their virtual independence of the State, the congregation of this parish demonstrated to me that the Church of England was no more inherently a creation of the State, or an easy religion of the propertied classes, than was the Church of Rome. Granted Disestablishment and Disendowment, this parish, in the course of half an hour, would have settled itself and would have continued to work exactly as before. Therefore it was a model to me of what the Church of England potentially was

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everywhere. I felt that I was within the precincts of a Revival whose course would not cease until the gift of Unity had been vouchsafed from Heaven. Here, in fine, was a model to the non-Roman world of original Christianity, of its faith and consecration, of its hopefulness, of its Christian love embodied in fraternal co-operation in good works.

Our vicar was on excellent terms with Free Churchmen and Evangelicals. He used on occasion to address their meetings. Some of my friends took a leading part in originating the plan of a Prayer for Unity to be offered up by all English Christians at the festival of Pentecost in 1906.

I purposely limit my allusions about the state of religion in the Church of England to the instance of this one parish. My case is conceded if it is proved beyond question that the Church of England provides a true scope for a spiritual revival on devotionally Catholic lines. A universal Revival, leading towards Home Reunion, and thereby preparing the way for final Unity, is one of those prospects that should call forth a zeal and enthusiasm worthy of the most heroic times of Christian History. That the pastor and people of this particular parish had no narrow conceptions of mere reunion with Rome, is proved by the diligent and leading interest they took in promoting the Prayer before alluded to for Unity amid all English Christians. I may therefore rightly finish my account of this devotional quest for a New Rome with a provisional outline of a scheme of qualifications that seem to be required in order that finally the blessed prospect of an inclusive Unity of Christendom may be realized.

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A Scheme for Promoting Unity.

The preparatory movements towards Unity may, for convenience sake, be summarized as follows, under the four headings of Universal Order, World Mission, Faith, and Worship:—

I. *The Sovereign Order of the Visible Church under the Invisible Supremacy of Christ.*

(1) The ten territorial Churches of the Anglican Communion may, in time, find some neutral place of conference with all others, such as Glastonbury or other English, American, or Eastern site of historic sacredness, and discuss how to effect a concordat and intercommunion, and, later, a united Conciliar Authority.

(2) Unto this *ager sacer* the Old Catholics, the Separate Churches of the East, the *Unitas Fratrum*, and the Scandinavian Churches might send their representatives to confer on the various qualifications that each require from each in order that "Mission," and Intercommunion should be agreed to.

(3) The question of *episcopi de esse unitatis ecclesiæ* might be discussed here or elsewhere with Presbyterians and German and American Lutherans.

(4) All religious Communions which do not claim a historic territorial status, but which are, broadly speaking, missionary, including all Evangelical Christians, might agree to treat with Episcopalian bodies in view of association under the supreme head of the Order of the World Mission as below.

II. *The Sovereign Order of the World Mission of the Church at Home and in Foreign Parts.*

As Rome has its missionary world order under the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fidei* which is of a vastly

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simpler structure than the fixed hierarchical order, so the Evangelical Christian Communions might be conceded their own distinctive organizations, and enjoy self-government on these two conditions.

(1) That several of their officials, duly qualified, should accept ordination and consecration as bishops to become the ministers of the grace of unity, without reflection on their own existing ministry of the grace of salvation.

(2) The other condition is doctrinal, and comes under the third general heading.

With these two qualifications, the Evangelical Communions would receive a Missionary Jurisdiction and "Mission" from the confederate Episcopalian Churches to continue their existing service.

III. *The Sovereign Order of Faith.*

The reason for ecclesiastical organization is to enable every one to partake of the blessings of salvation in its transcending significance. There is no sufficient reason for unity except the belief in the transcendence of the Atonement, and hence the transcending saving efficacy of the work of the Saviour. Catholic and Evangelical agree on this truth. But, as I hold, they disagree solely on the question whether the congregation of the redeemed possess, in a collective sense, a real *subsistentia.* If there be an *ecclesia* which possesses such a substantive entity, then the will to promote Unity in a visible sense is inherently a test of the true Faith. The breach between Catholic and Evangelical might then be much lessened if Evangelicals would agree to add to their creeds the words: "I believe in a Visible Unity by the Holy Ghost".

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This act of faith would concede, in its spiritual interpretation, the whole basis for a simplified, but still transcendent, sacramentalism. Whosoever could accept this supplementary act of faith would be duly qualified for accepting, in its plenitude of meaning, the institution of a ministry of the grace of unity, namely an episcopate, not as inherently necessary for conversion, but as inherently necessary for the purpose of unifying the People of God in a single sovereign order persisting from Pentecost to the Last Day.

IV. *The Sovereign Order of Worship.*

The great missionary order of Evangelical Christians might choose their own methods of showing their respect for Visible Unity through their forms of worship. Devotional *rapprochement* would, in truth, become an aim to be sought for by all Christians. The Ritualist has achieved devotional assimilation with Roman Catholics. The reason why a movement towards such devotional assimilation ought to be widespread is that unless you can worship with the Redeemed of Christ on Earth from all times, and in all places, there is no assurance that you can be made fit to worship with the body of the Redeemed in Paradise. After a while a permanent representative Committee might sit to encourage and arbitrate in matters relating to devotional and ritual assimilation and do a work parallel to that undertaken by the *Congregatio Rituum* at the Vatican.

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